

GEORGE MONK
Duke of Albemarle.

M.V.dr Gucht Sc.



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THE

LIFE

OF

GENERAL *MONK*:

Duke of *Albemarle*,

CONTAINING,

I. A faithful Account of his unparallel'd Conduct, ſurprizing Actions, and Providential Succeſs in accompliſhing the RESTORATION of MONARCHY.

II. A particular Relation of that moſt memorable March from *Coldſtream* to *London*; the Preparations for it in *Scotland*, and the Happy Conſequences of it in *England*.

III. Many Miſtakes committed by our Hiſtorians, (particularly the Earl of *Clarendon*) concerning the General's Adminiſtration, rectified.

Publiſh'd from an Original MANUSCRIPT of *THOMAS SKINNER*. M. D.

With a PREFACE in Vindication of General *Monk*'s Conduct; and giving ſome Account of the Manuſcript.

By WILLIAM WEBSTER, M. A. Curate of St. *Dunſtans*, in the *Weſt*.

The SECOND EDITION, corrected.

LONDON:

Printed for J. GRAVES in St. *James's-Street*: J. ISTED and J. HOOKE, in *Fleet-Street*. M.DCC.XX.IV.

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MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

II. A particular Relation of that most memorable March from Coldstream to London, with the Preparations for it in Scotland, and the Happy Consequences of it in England.

III. Many Noble Actions performed by him, Historians, (particularly the Author of this) omitting the General's Administration, reflected.

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With a PREFACE in Vindication of General Monk's Conduct; and giving some Account of the Manuscript.

By WILLIAM WEBSTER, M. A.
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TO

The Right Honourable the

Countess *Granville*

AND

JOHN Lord GOWER,

Baron of *Sittenham* in the County of *York*.

MADAM,

THE following Life claims the Protection of Your LADYSHIP's Name, in Right of Relation and Friendship; the Loyal and Antient Families of the GRANVIL-

VILLES and the MONKS being nearly ally'd by Birth, and an Agreement in Principles. But the DUKE of ALBEMARL and Your Great Father the EARL of BATH were more intimately united by an early Acquaintance in their Youth; and in their riper Years, by a happy Concurrence of Counsels and Actions, in the Accomplishment of the truly Glorious RESTORATION. But,

MADAM,

Besides the Consideration of Piety to Your deceased Father, who bears so Honourable a Part in the ensuing History, and Affection to the Memory of an Illustrious RELATION, who is the chief Subject of it; give me leave to say, Your LADYSHIP appears

pears to be under a further and more particular Obligation to encourage a faithful Account of the Life and Actions of the DUKE of ALBEMARLE; forasmuch as the Honour of Your Family must necessarily partake of the Injury he has suffered from the Misrepresentations of his Enemies. And,

MY LORD,

To the Honour of Your LORDSHIP's Patronage this History seems equally entitled, your LORDSHIP being also descended from the GRANVILLES, and thereby related to the MONKS: But not more nearly related by Blood, than by an Affinity of high Qualities and noble Endowments. The Wisdom, Courage, and constant Adherence to the Interest of their

King and Country, with other Virtues ſo conſpicuous in your ANCESTORS, ſhine, in their full Perfection, in Your LORDSHIP's Character. As a good Subject, You think it Your Duty to encourage *Monarchical Men*, and *Monarchical Principles*, not having learned the Maxims of ſome *modern* Politicians, who ſhew their Loyalty to his MAJESTY, by an habitual Averſion to *Kingly* Government, and an idultrious Zeal, upon all Occaſions where they can do it with impunity, to propagate *Republican* Notions: As an ENGLISHMAN, You are equally careful to preſerve the invaluable Bleſſings of *Liberty* and *Property*; as a Member of the CHURCH, You eſteem it neither *Popery* nor *Superſtition*, to aſſert her *Doctrines* and *In-*

Inſtitution, to ſupport her *Rights*, and protect her *Clergy*.

But beſides theſe excellent Qualities which ſhew themſelves in a more publick manner, Your LORDSHIP's private Virtues are made ſubſervient to the Good of Your COUNTRY: That eaſy Addreſs and flowing Affability, That engaging Condeſcenſion, as well as graceful Dignity in all Your Actions, have my LORD, in Your early Years, given You ſuch a Share of the general Eſteem and Affections of Your Countrymen, as very few have ever lived to attain to. Thoſe who have the Happineſs to live near You, feel no other Effects of the Man of Quality, than his Bounty and Hoſpitality, and a Readineſs to protect them from the Injuries of other Men. As all

theſe

these happy Talents have been conducted with the most honest Skill, 'tis hoped, the World will learn from Your LORDSHIP's Example, how unnecessary Party Rage, and an unneighbourly Resentment towards such as differ from You are to the carrying on a good Cause successfully.

I hope, my LORD, I shall one Day see Your LORDSHIP in full Power at the Head of that Interest (the Interest of our Constitution in Church and State) which no Man has more effectually promoted. This, my LORD, is the proper Reward of the Virtues You have already shewn, and in wishing it, I give a Proof of my Zeal for the Happiness of my *Country*, and the Honour of the *Crown*.

DEDICATION.

I must now humbly beg your HONOURS to accept of this plain Addreſs, and my inconſiderable Share in the Performance I here preſent You with. It is a great Advantage to the Memory of the AUTHOR, that his PATRONS, are proper Judges of juſt and elegant Writing. The EDITOR has no Hopes, but in your wonted Candor, and Condſecention. I have engaged in a good Cauſe, and with a good Intention which is all I have to plead in Excuſe for an *Introduction* ſo much below the Dignity of the Subject. Had I vindicated the Conduct of GENERAL MONK as juſtly as Dr. SKINNER has related it faithfully, the *Stateſman*, the *Hero*, the *Patriot*, would all appear in their proper Luſtre, and reflect

as

as much Honour upon the Relations of the DUKE, as can be derived to them from the Virtue and Nobility of their PROGENITORS.

I am,

May it please Your Honours,

With great Esteem,

Yours Honours most obedient

And devoted humble Servant.

William Webster.



THE EDITOR'S PREFACE.

IN this Prefatory Diſcourſe, wherein I propoſe to make ſome Reflections upon the Conduct of GENERAL MONK, *in Vindication of him from ſome Aſperſions of his Enemies, or the leſs malicious, but equally injurious Miſtakes of thoſe, who would be thought at leaſt to be favourable to his Character; I ſhall not detain the Reader upon the common Subject of Biographers, the delightful and profitable Nature of Hiſtory in general, but confine my ſelf directly to the Matter and Sence of Action before us. A Scene equally wonderful and ſurpriſing, in the Formation, in the Conduct, in the Accompliſhment, and happy Effects of it. A Scence which open'd in reducing this Part of the World we inhabit, out of the diſmal Confuſion and Anarchy, wherein, like the primitive Choas, it lay involv'd, into a State ſo well inform'd and regular, that perhaps no Conſtitution of Govern-*

ment upon Earth ever ſubſiſted upon a more wiſe, equitable, or well-tempered Model.

In reference to foreign Hiſtory, I ſhall only obſerve, that if Facts, wherein the ſeveral Ages and Nations of the World would have been intereſted, if Revolutions reſpecting the Government of Greece, *or* Rome, *are thought uſeful and entertaining to Men of polite Literature, eſpecially when ſet in a proper and good Light, though we are no further affected by them, than as they diſcover to us the Arts aud Errors of Government, and the common Events of civil Life; certainly a Deſire of being acquainted with the Hiſtory of our own Nation, or with any momentous Part of it, will not only be allowed natural, but highly laudable and inſtructive.*

Now if we carry our Enquiries into the Engliſh *Hiſtory as high as we have any Authentick Records to direct us, we ſhall find no Period, ſince we were known to live under a regular Form of Government, more memorable for the Variety of ſurprizing and important Incidents, or accompanied with more legible Marks of a Divine Superintendency, than what the Author of the following Life has undertaken to relate. And as it has been thought a common Act of Juſtice in all Parts of the World, I may ſay the Barbarous, as well as the more civiliz'd, to celebrate the Memory of thoſe who have perform'd any extraordinary and meritorious Actions in their Service; ſo brave and generous a People as the* Engliſh *muſt neceſſarily be pleas'd with an Hiſtory intending to do Honour to one of the greateſt Ornaments and Supports of the* Engliſh *Nation; and to whoſe Merit it is owing under the good Providence of* GOD, *that we now ſubſiſt as a Nation, governed by our own Laws, under a Limited Monarchy, which is the moſt excellent Form of Goverment, and beſt adapted*

dapted to the Genius of the People; that his preſent Majeſty, for his Royal Relation to the Family then reſtor'd, now poſſeſſes the Crown; and that we enjoy the Benefit of his Adminiſtration, with the Proſpect of a Succeſſion of Kings, of his Race, to ſet upon his Throne to lateſt Poſterity. A Conſideration, one would think, ſufficient to endear the Memory of GENERAL MONK *to ſome of his moſt inveterate Enemies; at leaſt to deter them from ſhewing their Malice to him, becauſe it will at the ſame time diſcover a Diſaffection, where they pretend the moſt inflam'd Zeal.*

I do not mean that a bare Deſign of honouring the Memory of GENERAL MONK, *is ſufficient to to recommend every Narrative of his Life. To approve a Deſign of that Nature to the Taſte of the preſent Age, it muſt be well and happily executed: And I dare preſume to ſay, that every impartial Reader, allowing for ſome Variations in the Phraſeology of our Biographer from the modern Diction, will allow, that he has acquitted himſelf not only as a Man of Probity, but as an elegant, and eſpecially as a moſt clear and methodical Writer, and one that was as a Maſter of his Subject.*

Yet it cannot be deny'd, whatever Juſtice this Author has done to the Memory of GENERAL MONK, *or how much ſoever the* Engliſh *Nation is indebted to that great Man, he has met with moſt injurious Treatement; and, as it will appear in the Sequal of this Preface, ſome Authors of Credit and Diſtinction in the World, have not been altogether ſo tender of his Reputation, as might have been expected from the general Character of their Probity and Candor.*

In Reference to ſeveral of his gallant Actions, the Notoriety whereof was too evident to be deny'd

the Merit of them has yet been aſcrib'd to indirect and ignoble Motives; to the Direction and Influence of a particular Providence, without allowing any Thing to him, as an intelligent and free Agent, voluntarily concurring with the Divine Will; and, as the moſt extraordinary Inſtance of their Envy, even to the Direction of thoſe very ſubordinate Perſons, who were manifeſtly the Creatures of his Power and Intereſt, and entirely directed by him. I am ſenſible, and ſo was the GENERAL *himſelf, how much was owing to the over-ruling Hand of* GOD, *that the wiſeſt of human Counſels were not equal to a Succeſs ſo very wonderful and unexpected, and that the Wiſdom and Advice of thoſe Perſons who were admitted into the Secrecy of his Counſels, though thoſe were but very few, were of Uſe to him? but I can ſee no Reaſon for ſuppoſing him the Property of his Aſſiſtants, or merely paſſive to an irreſiſtible Direction of Providence; any more than I can agree in Opinion with my Lord* Clarendon, That it would be Glory enough to his Memory, to have been ſuch an unwilling Inſtrument.

They, who have been averſe to any Impreſſions to his Advantage, have been very forward to credit, and propagate the moſt groundleſs Inſinuations. Ludlow (*whom yet I would not be thought to include among my Authors of Probity and Candor*) *charges* GENERAL MONK *with making it a Condition of his reſtoring the King, that his Majeſty ſhould* give him the Lieutenancy of *Ireland. And yet in another Place he ſays,* The General promis'd to reſtore the King without any Conditions at all; *aſſigning this extraordinary Reaſon for it, that he was in Hopes* by not articling to have the better Terms. *Whereas if he had really intended to capitulate*

pitulate with the King, he could hardly have ask'd any thing, beſides the Crown it ſelf, or ſomething very prejudicial to the Dignity of it, which his Majeſty would not have granted.

But the moſt popular and odious Charge which has been brought againſt the GENERAL, *is that of Diſſimulation and Inſincerity: And, to aggravate it, nothing has been omitted which the common Places upon theſe Heads could ſupply. To make good his Charge, it is ſaid* he had a ſecret Intention to bring in the King, while he was in the Intereſt of the Common-wealth; *but then again, to deprive him of the Credit and Reward of ſuch an Intentiou, they labour as induſtriouſly to prove, that* he intended no ſuch thing.

But though it may be thought a ſufficient Anſwer to the Enemies of GENERAL MONK, *that they are ſo contradictory and inconſiſtent in their Charge againſt him; may there not yet be ſome Difficulty in accounting for his Conduct, to Perſons more equally diſpos'd to form a Judgment of it? What Proof have we that he had a real Intention to reſtore the King? Or, if he had ſuch an Intention, how ſhall we reconcile his Diſſembling, after the manner he is acknowledged to have done, to the ſtrict Rules of Honour, or Moral Vertue.*

I ſhall anſwer to theſe Queſtions, firſt, in more general Obſervations; and then particularly, in a Recapitulation of the moſt conſiderable and important Paſſages of his Conduct.

Concerning the GENERAL's *Inclinations and Intentions towards the Reſtoration, the learned World has been very much divided in their Opinion; more, I think, than they needed to have been in a Matter where the Evidence is ſo clear and ſtrong.*

Some aſcribe the Origin of his Loyal Purpoſes to the Reſentment of a Diſgrace put upon him by the Parliament, wherein it was moved, and debated, whether he ſhould anſwer for the Peace concluded between him and O Neal, *General of the* Iriſh *Rebels. This Opinion, tho' it blemiſhes his Deſigns with a diſhonourable Motive, yet gives them a much earlier Date than others are willing to allow. Mr.* Echard *ſays indeffinitely,* That his Intentions to ſettle the general Quiet of the Land were very early, and that he all along fram'd his Deſigns ſuitable to the Opportunities that were given him. *My Lord* Clarendon *repreſents him as* entirely devoted to the Perſon and Fortunes of *Cromwel*, otherwiſe better inclin'd to ſerve the King, than any Man in Power of the three Kingdoms; but not to have taken up any ſettled Purpoſe or Reſolution of reſtoring him; till about the Time of the Conference between the *General* and Sir *John Greenvil*; and that he was then forc'd upon that ſudden Reſolution by the impetuous Torrent of Loyalty, which had almoſt overflow'd the Nation, or was gradually led into it by a Concurrence of unforeſeen Accidents.

Now that the GENERAL *did intend to reſtore the King, and fram'd his Meaſures ſuitable to ſuch a Deſign, tho' it has been, and is ſtill repreſented as a Queſtion of great Uncertainty, yet, the ſeveral Circumſtances of his Conduct being diſtinctly conſider'd, we may collect Evidence enough to prove it highly probable; as probable as we could ſuppoſe it to be, if he did really proceed upon ſuch an Intention.*

His Concurrence and Engagements with Oliver, *and the Common-wealth Party, all his Arts of Concealment and Caution, which have been objected againſt his having any Intention towards the Reſtoration,*

tion, were abſolutely neceſſary to the effecting it, He could never have been in any Capacity of ſerving his Majeſty, without continuing his Power and Intereſt with his Enemies, nor have maintain'd himſelf in Power without thoſe Compliances. And is it not very unreaſonable, when he us'd all the proper and neceſſary Meaſures which could poſſibly have reſtor'd the King, to turn all thoſe Meaſures into Arguments to prove that he really did not intend it? Is it not a more juſt Way of reaſoning, to conclude from his uniform and regular Conduct, in the ſame manner as we muſt ſuppoſe him to have conducted himſelf, upon the Suppoſition of his intending the Reſtoration, that he really did intend, what he proſecuted ſeemingly by ſuch probable Means, and at laſt really effected?

My Lord Clarendon *has obſerv'd, and frequently repeated the Obſervation, as if he laid a great Streſs upon it,* That they could never draw from him any plain and open Declaration, that he never gave any publick Proof of his having this End in View. *But to make the* GENERAL *ſome Amends for this groundleſs Objection, he has himſelf moſt effectually anſwer'd it, by confeſſing, that* it was happy for the King he never did diſcover his Intentions, becauſe ſuch a Diſcovery muſt neceſſarily have deſtroy'd the Deſign. *His Silence, where Silence was neceſſary can never be drawn into an Argument. And it is the ſame Thing as to the other Objections commonly urg'd, his* frequent Declarations both publick and private; *and above all, his* adviſing the Parliament to uſe all proper Means to prevent the King's Reſtoration. *They were neceſſary Artifices to conceal his Deſign, and therefore can never carry any Proof of his not having had ſuch an Intention. The particulrr Cir-*

cumſtances of his Conduct I have reſerved for a diſtinct Conſideration; at preſent I am arguing from the Conceſſions of his Enemies, who grant, that if the GENERAL intended to reſtore the King, he took the moſt probable, if not the only poſſible Methods of doing it. *And I deſire the Reader, as he peruſes the Hiſtory, carefully to weigh the ſeveral Steps of his Proceedings, and endeavour to contrive any other more probable, or indeed poſſible Means. I have impartially try'd the Experiment myſelf, and the Reſult has been in favour of the* GENERAL.

But it may, perhaps, be more difficult to reconcile ſome Parts of his Conduct to the ſtrict Rules of Simplicity and godly Sincerity: *In particular his Diſſimulation with the Party whoſe Intereſt he ſeem'd to eſpouſe, under whom he certainly ſerved.*

As much as I honour the Memory of GENERAL MONK, *and as great an Inclination as I really have to favour his Character, in pure Gratitude for his moſt extraordinary Services to my Country, I muſt have that Regard to my own Character, whoſe proper Office it is to aſſert Truth as laid down in the moſt authentick Rule of it, the Goſpel, as not to diſſerve the Cauſe of Virtue, by favouring a looſe Morality. I willingly therefore allow, that Diſſimulatton, eſpecially Diſſimulation in ſo many repeated Inſtances of it, is immoral, and unworthy the Dignity of a Man. But then where a Perſon was an Inſtrument of ſo much Good, where there appeared to be a particular Deſignation of Providence to make him that happy Inſtrument, and there was no viſible Proſpect of effecting our Deliverance by any other Hand, let us not preclude him from the common Allowances, which have been uſually made*

made to Heroes, by whoſe Means any great Revolutions have been wrought for the Benefit of Mankind, tho' every Step taken in order to accompliſh them, could not be perfectly juſtify'd.

Nay, I may challenge the moſt virulent Adverſaries of the GENERAL, *to inſtance in any Revolution, how glorious ſoever in their own Judgment of it, where the like Arts of Diſſimulation have not been uſed, tho' perhaps neither upon Motives more inconteſtably good, nor for Ends more neceſſary and beneficial to the State.*

Why then ſhould GENERAL MONK *be ſingled out as the only Perſon to whom no Quarter is to be given, becauſe he conducted himſelf by the ſame political Maxims which ſome of the moſt celebrated Heroes of Antiquity, whether recorded in profane or ſacred Hiſtory, would have made no Scruple of, if we may judge from the Hiſtory of their Actions under the like Circumſtances.*

I am not at all ſurpriz'd to find Ludlow, *and other hot* Republicans, *precipitated from a height of Power and Greatneſs, and expos'd to the juſt Indignation of an injur'd Prince,* and *of a long abus'd and oppreſs'd People, inclin'd, at any Rate, to traduce the great Inſtrument of their Ruin and Infamy. Neither are we to wonder, if we ſtill find Men of rigid* Republican *Principles, equally violent in their Expreſſions of Rage and Malice againſt the Hand which pull'd down their beloved Idol of Anarchy and Confuſion. Of* theſe Malignants *I can only deſire, that they would be conſiſtent with* common *Senſe, and not affect to recommend themſelves to the Favour of a* King, *or his* Miniſters, *by the Defence of ſuch Principles and Practices, as are utterly deſtructive of* Monarchy *in general. But from all true* Engliſhmen, *from the*

Friends

Friends of our happy Conſtitution in Church and State, the Reſtorer of Religious and Civil Liberties may demand a Readineſs, an Alacrity, in celebrating his undoubted Virtues, a favourable Conſtruction of what is doubtful, and the Forgiveneſs of what is criminal in his Conduct.

How far he is capable of being defended from the Charge of Hypocriſy and Diſſimulation, will appear more diſtinctly upon a Review of his Hiſtory. However, ſome general Remarks may here be made to his Advantage.

Though he was ſometimes more free than Chriſtian Simplicity will juſtify, (though not more than the Neceſſity of his Affairs requir'd) in his Profeſſions of Affection to their Cauſe; yet ſeveral of his Declarations and Promiſes are expreſs'd in ambiguous Terms, and capable of another Senſe than what they underſtood him in. Particularly when he profeſs'd, that he did not intend to ſet up a ſingle Perſon, *but to ſettle the Nation upon* Commonwealth Principles; *it was ſo far true, that he did not intend* immediately *and* directly to reſtore the King, *but to reſtore a* free and full Parliament, *and to have the Reſtoration of the King the immediate Act of the* Nation, *of the* whole Nation *by their Repreſentatives.*

Where his Expreſſions are too ſtrong and full to be ſoftened by a charitable Conſtruction, ſome Allowance ought to be made on Account of his unhappy Circumſtances, by which he was caſt among a Set of People, whom he neither lov'd, nor could truſt, as Dr. Skinner *obſerves; and whom he look'd upon as common Villains and Robbers, who had no manner of Right to the ſtrict and rigid Obſervance of Truth from him. I am not now conſidering whether he was a good Caſuiſt: I only obſerve*

obſerve, in Vindication of his Sincerity, that he ſeem'd to act upon Principle; upon an Opinion, which I allow to be erroneous, that he might take greater Liberties in impoſing upon them, by Reaſon of their having forfeited their Right to an open and ingenuous Treatment.

That he was not naturally of a colluſive and treacherous Temper, appears from the reſt of his Behaviour, and from undeniable Teſtimonies. My Lord Clarendon * *confeſſes,* That throughout his whole Life he was never ſuſpected of Diſſimulation. *Dr.* † Skinner *takes particular Notice, upon the Occaſion of his going to the King at* Oxford, *to clear himſelf from a Suſpicion of Diſloyalty, that the Lord* Hawley, *then Governor of* Briſtol, took his Parole of Honour, knowing him to be a Perſon of Integrity, and that would not falſify his Word. *Plainneſs in his Dealing, and a certain Frankneſs in his Behaviour, were ſo much his proper Character, that he obtain'd among the Soldiers the vulgar, but honourable Title of* Honeſt George. *And it cannot eſcape the Notice of the moſt negligent Obſerver, how different his Carriage was to thoſe whom he thought to carry honeſt Purpoſes, and to thoſe Rebels, who had uſurp'd and tyrannically abus'd the Royal Authority; how great and uneaſy a Reſtraint his Behaviour towards the latter was upon his natural Temper. And which, I think, is an undeniable Confirmation of his acting upon a ſettled Principle, tho' a miſtaken one, in his fallacious Conduct towards*

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* Vol. III. 8vo. p. 700. † p. 23. Sect. 8.

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the Common-wealth; though he did not ſcruple to make Declarations and Promiſes repugnant to his real Sentiments and Intentions, he abſolutely refus'd ever to abjure the King *or* Monarchy, *when the Abjuration-Oath was tender'd to him as a Teſt of his Affection; and when the Refuſal of it much endanger'd not only his Intereſt, his Commiſſion, and thereby his whole Scheme, but his Life too; an undeniable Argument, both of his conſcientious Regard to the Sacredneſs of an Oath, and of his loyal Intentions. It does not indeed appear that he ever took any Oath at all, but the* Covenant, *which declar'd expreſly for the* King *and* Monarchy. *Dr.* Gumble *queſtions whether he took even That; but an Author of* * *good Credit affirms it. A ſcurrilous Writer without a Name,* † *pretends to give us the Copies of ſeveral Letters, wherein the General calls* GOD *to witneſs in the ſame ſolemn Manner as in an Oath. But Anonymous Authors have but little Credit in Matters of Fact, the Truth of which depends upon their own Veracity. He does not tell us how he came by thoſe Letters, where they may be ſeen, or how the World is to be ſatisfy'd of the Faithfulneſs of his Tranſcripts; only that they were before him, whether upon the Table, or in his Imagination, we are left to the Liberty of a Conjecture. If we judge from the Character of the* * *ſuppos'd Author, who made no ſcruple of falſifying the ſacred Writings, or from his Deſign, which was to vilify a great Man by the Compariſon of a perjur'd Villain, we may imagine he would form a Character to his Purpoſe.*

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* Whitlock. † The Art of Reſtoring. * Toland.

It

It is certain that the GENERAL *did write ſeveral Letters, both from* Coldſtream *to the* Junćto, *and afterwards from* London *to the Army and Garriſons, and that in thoſe Letters he did diſſemble his real Intention; but that he did it in a manner as ſolemn and ſacred as an Oath, and yet that in a Time of the greateſt Danger, he ſhould refuſe an Oath, it is the moſt abſurd Suppoſition.*

I have been particular upon this Charge of Diſſimulation, becauſe it has been aggravated with a particular Induſtry, and received with an uncommon Credulity. Neither can I yet leave it without obſerving, to the eternal Infamy of his Accuſers, that theſe religious Pretenders to Simplicity and godly Sincerity, *who repreſent* GENERAL MONK *as a Perſon wholly abandon'd, for departing ſometimes from the ſtrict Rules of them, though driven to that Neceſſity by their Rebellion againſt their* King *and* Country, *did not ſcruple themſelves to falſify the moſt ſolemn Oaths and Engagements to both.* Ludlow *in particular had taken the Covenant, which oblig'd him to declare for the* King *and* Monarchy, *and at the ſame time was a notorious* Republican; *and boaſted of it as the greateſt Glory of his Life, that he was one of the King's Judges.*

I have argued hitherto upon the Suppoſition, that GENERAL MONK *was as* deep *in the Republican Schemes, as he has been maliciouſly repreſented by ſome, and implicity believed by others, to have been. But the Matter of Fact appeared otherwiſe to thoſe who had the beſt Oppertunities of knowing the Truth of it. Dr.* Skinner

* *ſays*

* *says very justly*, that he was unluckily cast among those People, rather by his ill Fate, than any Choice of his own, but was still especially careful to keep himself from their greater Guilts. *Which is agreeable to what the* GENERAL *profess'd to Sir* John Greenvil, *That* his Heart and Affections were always true; and tho' he had been passive to some of their Directions, yet he neither had, nor would act by them in Prejudice to the real Interest of the King. *Dr.* Gumble *and Dr.* Price, *who attended him during the most exceptionable Part of his Conduct, assert, That* he never acted directly against any Persons who had the King's Commission. *The King himself so far acquitted him as to declare, That* GENERAL MONK had no Malice against him, nor had done any thing but what he could easily forgive: *The manner of which Expression at least imports, that he was not* deep *in the Projects of the Common-wealth, or that he was free from their* greater *Guilts. And in a Letter from* Breda *to the* GENERAL, *dated* May 20. *before the Restoration, he has this remarkable Passage:* I must ever acknowledge your extraordinary Affection to me and your discreet Conduct of this great Work, in which you have had to do with Persons of such different Humours, and contrary Affections, which you have wonderfully compos's'd. †.

My Lord Clarendon *also, in a Letter to Dr.* Barwick, *expresses a different Opinion of* GENERAL MONK's *Conduct from what he had enter-*

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* Pag. 62. Sect. 9.
† Life of Dr. *Barwick*, p. 438.

tain'd

tain'd before. Says he, The Proſpect of your Affairs looks very well towards us; and I am perſuaded that MONK will appear to have acted like a ſober Man †. *The Original of this Letter, under my Lord's own Hand, Mr.* Bedford, *who publiſhed that Life in* Latin, *and is now preparing a Tranſlation of it, by Subſcription, has in his Cuſtody. My Lord, in ſome preceding Letters, had complained of the* GENERAL's *Conduct for being ſo myſterious and unintelligible; and in his Hiſtory he ſpeaks of it with the ſame Uncertainty and Doubt; rather giving an Account of the various Reports and Imaginations of others about the* GENERAL's *Intention, than any ſettled Opinion of his own. But towards the Dawn of the Reſtoration, his Purpoſes began to be more clear and manifeſt from his Proceedings, while the Wiſdom and Regularity of his Proceedings appear'd equally clear from his Purpoſes. So that I hope, for the future, after ſo fair a Confeſſion, upon better Information, and a clearer Inſight into* GENERAL MONK's *Deſigns, my Lord* Clarendon's *Authority will be no longer inſiſted upon. His Lordſhip has been ſo juſt to the* GENERAL, *as to acknowledge his own Conviction; and whoever has been miſled by his Doubts or Miſinformation, ought to follow his generous and ingenuous Example.*

I come now to make ſome particular Remarks upon the principal Stages, and moſt important Actions of GENRAL MONK; *which I belive will ſtill give a better Light into his Character and Deſigns.*

† p. 427.

It

It ought in the first Place to be remember'd, tho' it be sufficiently known, that GENERA MONK *was of* Royal *Extraction, descended from the Blood of the* Plantagenets, *and educated in a Family for many Generations eminent for their Loyalty to the Crown, and their Affection to the Church of of* England; *under the Influence of whose Instructions and Example, he must needs have imbib'd early, and therefore lasting, Impressions of Duty and Allegiance to his King and Country.*

With these inbred Sentiments and Inclinations he went, at the Age of twenty one, into the Service of the States of Holland, *where he continued ten Years. Which Circumstance of his Life my Lord* Clarendon *turns to his Disadvantage, insinuating* that he then contracted a settled Affection for their Form of Government, which might incline him afterwards the more readily to come into the Plan of the Common-wealth in *England: Notwithstanding he left their Service for ill Usage, and how unlikely it is, that unjust Administration, especially such Instances of it as reflect any Dishonour or Injury upon our selves, should give a Bias in Favour of a Government.*

And if to the Affronts he receiv'd from the Common-wealth in Holland, *we add the Experience he had, for several Years, of the fatal Effects of that Government in* England, *more expensive in its Taxes, and in its Administration more oppressive and injurious to the Rights and Liberties of the People, than ever* Monarchy *had been, under the most arbitrary of its Kings; we can hardly imagine that* GENERAL MONK *should so far have defac'd the yearly Impressions of his Youth,*

Youth, ſo wholly forgot his Obligations to this Crown, and the miſerable Confuſions wherein the Republick *had involv'd the Nation, as to deſire the Continuance of it. So that I wonder my Lord* Clarendon *ſhould draw any Conſequences from the* GENERAL's *Reſidence in* Holland, *for a Proof of his Affection to* Republican *Principles, in Oppoſition to ſo many ſtronger Circumſtances inclining him to prefer* Monarchy.

Upon his Return from Holland, *he was employ'd in the Expedition againſt the* Scots, *having been recommended to that Employment by the Earl of* Leiceſter, *as a Perſon of known Affection to the Intereſt of his Majeſty; and he acquitted himſelf therein with much Honour and Fidelity.*

A Peace being concluded with thoſe infamous Rebels, very diſhonourable to the Engliſh *Nation, and ſuch as gave Encouragement to a new Rebellion in* Ireland; *the Earl of* Leiceſter, *who was nominated by the King and Parliament, to the Lieutenancy of that Kingdom, made him Colonel of his own Regiment; in which Employment he ſtill preſerved the Character of a loyal and dutiful Subject, and for his eminent Services againſt thoſe Rebels, was thought worthy of the Government of* Dublin.

Upon a Ceſſation of Arms with the Iriſh, *his Majeſty recall'd the* Engliſh *Forces to his Aſſiſtance againſt a more dangerous Rebellion at home. Several Officers belonging to theſe Regiments, were ſuſpected of an Inclination to ſerve the Parliament againſt the King. Among the reſt was* GENERAL MONK, *who, upon his Arrival at* Briſtol, *by Order from the Secretary of State, was ſecured, and ſent to the King at* Oxford.

This is the first Ground of Distrust concerning GENERAL MONK's *Loyalty; which my Lord* * Clarendon, *who never was thought partial to his Character, ascribes* "*rather to the want of* "*Bitterness in his Discourses against the Parlia-*"*ment, than to any Inclination towards them.*" *Dr.* Skinner † imputes it, "*to his being one of* "*the Earl of* Leicester's *own Officers, in particu-*"*lar Trust and Confidence with him.*" *If I may be allow'd the Liberty of a Conjecture in this Matter, the true Reason of his Disgrace might be this: The Successes of the Parliament's Forces in* England *had oblig'd the King to recall those Forces from* Ireland; *which was a Step, irregular in Strictness of Law, tho' apprehended necessary to his own Safety; he having before agreed to an Act of Parliament, whereby the Commons were empower'd to prosecute that War, and himself oblig'd not to make Peace without the Consent of Parliament. The Earl therefore being nominated to the Lieutenancy by the immediate Authority of the Parliament, it was natural enough for the Court to fear the Earl and his Officers, might still look upon themselves as the Servants of the Parliament, by Virtue of the forementiond Act.*

But whatever were the Grounds of the King's Distrust; upon Mr. Monk's *Appearance before the King at* Oxford, *his Majesty was so entirely satisfy'd, that he made him* Major-General *to the* Irish *Brigade then commanded down to* Cheshire. *A Circumstance wherein my Lord* Clarendon * *is mistaken; for he represents him as* going thither

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* Vol. III. pag. 699. † Chap. 2. Sect. 7. * Vol. III. p. 700.

only

only in Quality of a Voluntier, his own Regiment having been disposʼd of.

In this Expedition he was taken Prisoner, and committed to the Tower; *where he continuʼd till the Conclusion of the War between the King and Parliament, notwithstanding the great Hardships he sufferʼd in his Imprisonment, and the many inviting Offers from the Parliament, if he would engage in their Cause. My Lord* Clarendon's *Testimony in this Case is very honourable to him:*

" *He was no sooner in the* Tower, *than the Lord* " Lisle, *who had great Kindness for him, and* " *good Interest in the Parliament, with much Im-* " *portunity endeavourʼd to persuade him to take a* " *Commission in that Service, and offerʼd him a* " *Command superior to what he had ever had be-* " *fore; which he positively and disdainfully refu-* " *sed to accept, thoʼ the Streights he sufferʼd in* " *Prison were very great, and he thought himself* " *neglected, that there was no Care taken for his* " *Exchange, nor Money sent for his Support.*"

The Truth of this Account, which my Lord Clarendon *here gives of the* GENERAL's *hard Circumstances during his Confinement in the* Tower, *and the great Desire he had to be releasʼd from it, is confirmʼd by a* LETTER *from the* GENERAL *to his Elder Brother: This* LETTER *is now in the Possession of Sir* Nicholas Morrice, *and a Friend of his and mine, procurʼd me a Copy of it.*

A LETTER *from* GENERAL MONK *to his Elder Brother,* THOMAS MONK, Esq.

" I Wrote unto you by Captain *Bley*, in which " LETTER, I did desire you to send me " some Money: I have receivʼd Fifty Pounds

" by your Order long ſince, for which I return
" you many Thanks. My Neceſſities are ſuch,
" that they enforce me to intreat you to furniſh
" me with Fifty Pounds more, as ſoon as poſ-
" ſible you may, and you ſhall very much oblige
" me in it. I ſhall intreat you to be mindful of me,
" concerning my Exchange, for, I doubt, all my
" Friends have forgotten me. I earneſtly in-
" treat you therefore, if it lies in your Power,
" to remember me concerning my Liberty; and
" ſo, in haſte, I reſt,

From the Tower, *this* 6th *of* November. 1644.

Your Faithful Brother and Servant,

GEORGE MONK.

Does this Conduct agree with the ſame noble Hiſtorian's Opinion in another Place, of which I have already taken notice, that he contracted an Inclination to a Common-wealth during his Reſidence in *Holland? Or rather is it not an undeniable Inſtance of an unſhaken and immoveable Attachment to the Royal Cauſe?*

When the War was at an End, and the King himſelf a Priſoner, the whole Power of the Nation in the Hands of the Parliament, and no Poſſibility of doing his Majeſty any Service in England, *the Lord* Liſle *prevail'd upon him to ſerve in* Ireland; *a War in which he had been engaged before, and which was agreeable to his Principles, the* Iriſh *being declared Enemies to* England, *and to the King, as well as to the Parliament: So that by this Expedition he did not properly ſerve the Parliament in Oppoſition to the King, but more properly the Nation*

Nation in Oppoſition to the common Enemies of it, and by Commiſſion from the Parliament, who were empowered by a publick Act of the Legiſlature, to grant Commiſſions for that Purpoſe.

So far was the GENERAL *from being conſcious of any Diſſervice to the King from his Acceptance of that Commiſſion, that beſides his Declaration to the Biſhop of* Ely, *then in the* Tower, *he told the Parliament it ſelf,* That he was going to fight againſt the *Iriſh* Rebels, but not againſt the King, whom he was reſolv'd never to oppoſe: *Whence it appears, that a poſitive Reſerve of his Allegiance was an expreſs Condition of his accepting the Commiſſion, and that the Parliament comply'd with it. This remarkable Paſſage we meet with in the Life of Dr.* Barwick, *with relation to the Grounds of that good Man's Confidence in the* GENERAL's *Loyalty, from what he had often heard the Biſhop of* Ely *relate, as the Foundation of the ſame Confidence his Lordſhip had in him too.*

" *That that great Man, having been formerly* " *taken Priſoner when fighting with ſignal Bra-* " *very for the King, and that in no mean Poſt,* " *and after a long and ſevere Confinement in the* " Tower *with his Lordſhip, no Hopes left of* " *recovering his Liberty, (the King's Cauſe grow-* " *ing daily more deſperate) when* Cromwel, *who* " *knew his Courage and Experience in Military* " *Affairs, had long courted him to come over to* " *his Side, and at laſt offer'd him a Command in* " *the* Iriſh *Service; to obtain his Liberty, was* " *perſuaded to accept the Offer, but with this Pro-* " *teſtation, that he would bear Arms againſt the* " Iriſh *Rebels, but by no means againſt his King;* " *and when all Matters were agreed, and he was* " *going to take leave of his Friends, he came to*

" *this Biſhop, and throwing himſelf at his Feet,*
" *begg'd the venerable Prelate's Benediction; bin-*
" *ding himſelf at the ſame time with this ſolemn*
" *Engagement, that he never would be an Enemy*
" *to the King.*

" * Nempe cum in Bello olim captus fuiſſet
" vir in paucis inſignis Regi fortiſſimè dimicans,
" & ſqualore vinculorum in Arce Londinenſi,
" juxta cum venerando Epiſcopo diu maceratus
" fuiſſet, nec ulla ſpes Libertatis recuperandæ,
" (rebus Regiis inndies labentibus) ipſi affulge-
" ret; diu à Cromwello, qui hominis fortitudi-
" nem, & rei Militaris peritiam probè noverat,
" in ſuas partes ſolicitatus eſt; tandemque ut
" Libertate ſuâ unà cum præfecturâ in Bello Hi-
" bernico frueretur perſuaſus, contra Rebelles
" Hibernicos, minimè verò contra Regem ſuum,
" ſe armaturum proteſtans. Cumque, jam accep-
" tis conditionibus, ſuis valedicturus eſſet, ad
" hunc † Epiſcopum acceſſit, ad cujus pedes
" provolutus, venerandi patris benedictionem
" petiit, hæc ſanctè in ſe recipiens, Regi ſuo ſe
" hoſtem nunquam futurum.

An undeniable Teſtimony of his generous and open Dealing with the Parliament, and of his uncorrupted Fidelity to the King!

Accordingly the Writer of that Life aſſerts it
" *as a Fact moſt undoubted, that the* GENERAL
" *never fought either in* Ireland, *or* Scotland, *for*
" *his Deliverers in* England, *but employ'd all his*
" *Force againſt thoſe who had formerly created the*
" *King all this Trouble and Diſturbance.* * Hoc
" autem certiſſimum eſt, Virum illuſtriſſimum

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* Pag. 185—5. † Dr. *Wren.* ‡ *Ibidem.*

" Libe-

" Liberatoribus ſuis in Angliâ nunquam mili-
" tâſſe, vel in Hiberniâ, vel in Scotiâ; contra
" Gentes eas, quæ has Turbas Regi olim con-
" citaverant, omnem operam impendentem.

And this I conceive was the true Reaſon of the GENERAL's *being ſo averſe to any Employment in the Civil Wars at home, where he muſt unavoidably and directly have oppos'd his Majeſty's Intereſt, contrary to his own ſtedfaſt Reſolution, and open Declaration. Neither can it remain any longer a Queſtion, whether his being employ'd afterwards againſt the* Scots, " *was at his own particular De-*
" *ſire and Requeſt, or whether his good Fortune ſo*
" *far befriended him, as to reſcue him from an*
" *Employment he ſo much diſlik'd, that of fighting*
" *in* England;" * *tho' Dr.* Skinner *could not abſolutely determine this Queſtion.*

As a further Evidence that GENERAL MONK *choſe, for his Provinces, the remoter Places of* Ireland *and* Scotland, *as judging them to be equally the Enemies both of the King and Parliament, we find King* CHARLES II. *correſponding with the* GENERAL, *and directing him to thoſe very Meaſures he purſued, in relation to his ſerving in* Scotland, *where the King thought him moſt capable of doing him effectual Service. For the Author beforemention'd ſays,*

" *After I had wrote this, his Grace,* Chriſto-
" pher, *Duke* Albemarle, *did me the Honour to*
" *ſhew me a Letter written by the King, all in*
" *his own Hand, to his Grace's Father command-*
" *ing in* Scotland, *at leaſt four Years before the*
" *Reſtoration; in which his Majeſty earneſtly ad-*
" *vis'd him to take particular Care not to ſuffer*

* Chap. 3. Sect. 15. † Life of Dr. *Barwick.* p. 186.

" *himſelf, by any Artifice of* Cromwel's, *to be*
" *drawn out of* Scotland, *leaving him in other*
" *Things to the Direction of his own Judgment,*
" *not in the leaſt doubtful of his Fidelity and O-*
" *bedience, when Opportunity ſhould offer. This*
" *Letter he preſerv'd among his moſt valuable*
" *Treaſures; yet ſeems to have wrote no Anſwer*
" *to it, thinking it much better, and in that dan-*
" *gerous Conjuncture by all Means ſafer, to an-*
" *ſwer by ſome Heroick Undertaking, than by bare*
" *empty Words; yet from this profound and per-*
" *petual Silence, thoſe Doubts I have mention'd*
" *above, without all peradventure, had their*
" *Riſe.*

" Poſtquam hæc ſcripſeram, illuſtriſſimus Prin-
" ceps Chriſtophorus Dux Albemarliæ oſtende-
" re mihi Literas dignatus eſt, ad patrem ſuum,
" in Scotiâ imperantem, quadriennio ſaltem an-
" te Regnum reſtituum à Sereniſſimo Rege da-
" tas, & Regiâ manu exaratas, in quibus ſeriò
" monuit, ut Vir illuſtriſſimus id unicè curaret,
" ne ſe Cromwelli Artibus è Scotiâ divelli pate-
" retur; cætera de ejus fide atque obſequio, quâ
" datâ opportunitate, præſtando minimè dubius.
" Has ille Literas inter lectiſſima κειμήλεια re-
" poſuit; ſcribenti tamen nihil reſcripſiſſe viſus eſt;
" omnino ſatius, & in iſto Rerum diſcrimine
" omnino tutius exiſtimans, Heroico aliquo faci-
" nore, quam núdis & jejunis verbis reſpondere.
" Ex hâc tamen altâ & perpetuâ taciturnitate,
" dubia illa, de quibus ſupra diximus, procul
" omni dubio ortum ſortiebantur.

From the Tenor and Date of this Letter, there is no room to doubt, but it was the very ſame which is publiſh'd in the Appendix to Dr. Barwick's *Life,* No. I. *as it was communicated to the Editor by*

Sir

Sir Hans Sloan, *and had been tranſcrib'd by him from the Original in the Duke of* Albemarle's *Cabinet, in theſe Words:*

Collen, Aug. 12. 1655.

ONE who believes, he knows your Nature and Inclinations, very well aſſures me, that notwithſtanding all ill Accidents and Misfortunes, you retain ſtill your *old* Affection to me, and reſolve to expreſs it upon the ſeaſonable Opportunity; which is as much as I look for from you. We muſt all patiently wait for that Opportunity, which may be offer'd ſoonner than we expect: When it is, let it find you ready; and in the mean Time have a care to keep yourſelf out of their Hands, who know the Hurt you can do them in a good Conjuncture; and can never but ſuſpect your Affection to be, as I am confident it is, towards

Your, &c.

CHARLES REX.

To return to the Connection of our Hiſtory: The GENERAL *came from his laſt Expedition in* Ireland *in* 1649, *and was out of all Employment till* 1650, *when the* Scots *enter'd into a Treaty with King* CHARLES II. *for reſtoring him to his Kingdom of* Scotland.

In the Expedition of Cromwel *againſt the* Scots, GENERAL MONK *accepted a Commiſſion. And how difficult ſoever it may ſeem, at firſt Sight, to reconcile his oppoſing the* Scots, *who were endeavouring to reſtore the King, with his former Reſolutions,*

lutions, That he never would oppoſe the King, *yet he might have very good Reaſons to juſtify himſelf in that Part of his Conduct; at leaſt his declining any further Service under them, from his Return to* England, *to the breaking out of this War, plainly ſhews it to be ſo in his Opinion.*

In my Judgment neither Dr. Gumble, *nor Dr.* Skinner *do Juſtice to the* GENERAL, *in giving the following Reaſons for his engaging in this Expedition:* 1. The Rebellion and Inſolence of the *Scots* againſt King CHARLES I. *and,* 2. Their perfidious treatment of himſelf in *Ireland. Dr.* Skinner *had taken notice before, that when the* Scots *enter'd into this Treaty with his Majeſty, it* was concluded upon ſuch Terms as *Goths* and *Vandals* would have been aſham'd to offer to an hereditary Prince. *As the Motives to their Inſurrection were an Impatience under the Government of* Independency, *and an intemperate Zeal for the* Presbyterian Model; *the Eſtabliſhment of which both in* Scotland *and* England, *firſt induc'd them to take up Arms againſt their Sovereign: So they intended to reſtore their Religion, by making* That *Eſtabliſhment a neceſſary Condition of reſtoring the* King. *I have not Time to recapitulate the Particulars of their religious Pretences, and Treachery, from the firſt Tumults in the Reign of* CHARLES I. *to the Death of that excellent Prince: But a Perſon ſo well acquainted with that People as* GENERAL MONK, *had too much Reaſon to conclude, they would not reſtore his Majeſty upon honourable Terms. My Lord* * Clarendon *tells us,* " *They were ſo careful in modelling this Army*

* Page 375. Vol. III.

which

" *which they had rais'd, that they ſuffer'd few or*
" *no Officers, or common Soldiers, who had been in*
" *the Engagement of Duke* Hamilton, *or who gave*
" *the leaſt Occaſion to be ſuſpected to wiſh well to*
" *the King, to be receiv'd into their Service.*"
And when they were totally defeated by Cromwel, *the noble Hiſtorian* * *aſſures us, the* King *thought it a Matter of Triumph,* and the greateſt Happineſs that could befall him, *in that* he had thereby loſt ſo great a Body of his Enemies; who, if they had prevail'd, would have ſhut him up in Priſon. *In ſhort, it was an Army neither rais'd nor govern'd by the* King: *They were not properly* his *Subjects, but he rather ſubject to them, being oblig'd to receive, inſtead of having the Power to give Laws. The Reſtoration they chiefly aim'd at was, that of their* Spiritual Dominion. *The* Royal Cauſe *was only the Pretence, as being apprehended a Means ſubſervient to it. In what Light this Matter will appear to the Reader, I know not; to me it ſeems very clear, that the* Scots *would not have reſtor'd the* King *upon ſuch Conditions as were conſiſtent with the Dignity and Prerogative of the Crown, and the Rights and Liberties of the People; and that the Government could not have been ſettled upon any laſting Foundation by a foreign Force, much leſs by a Nation ſo obnoxious to the* Engliſh, *and ſo devoted to their own particular Intereſts, as the* Scots *were at that Time.*

The Parliament having entirely reduc'd Scotland, *reſov'd upon an Act of* Coalition, *for uniting both Kingdoms into one Common-wealth.* GENE-

* Page 377.

RAL

RAL MONK *was one of the Commiſſioners ſent down to* Scotland *to negotiate this Buſineſs: Which being intended as a Deſign, not only againſt the* King's *perſonal Intereſt, but to extirpate* Monarchy *out of that Kingdom, it may be wondred at, that if the* GENERAL *carry'd any good Inclinations towards the* King, *or* Kingly Government, *he ſhould be concern'd in ſo wicked a Scheme.*

It is very difficult, at this Diſtance of Time, and upon an imperfect Knowledge of Circumſtances, to form a Judgment of all the Motives and Reaſons upon which the GENERAL *acted in every Part of his Conduct. The Urgency and Neceſſity of certain critical Conjunctures might oblige him to ſome Meaſures, which, for want of knowing the true Situation Things were then in, do now carry the Appearance of quite different Purpoſes, than thoſe whereby he really govern'd himſelf. This, however, we may affirm with ſome Certainty, that the Danger of reſiſting the Importunities of the Party muſt have been great; that his Intereſt among them would have been impair'd, if not wholly deſtroy'd, and, by that Means, all future Power of ſerving the* King, *entirely loſt; that they could have effected their Deſign without his Aſſiſtance: Very probably too the* GENERAL *might not think their Meaſures would prove effectual to the wicked Purpoſes intended by them. But after all, we muſt not argue from one ſingle Paſſage of a Man's Life, in Oppoſition to the general Tenor of it, but account for the more ambiguous Parts whereof it is compoſed, by thoſe which are plain and indiſputable. Since therefore we have found him ſo very vigilant in what related to the* King's *Intereſts, ſo ſtudious to avoid all Occaſions of diſſerving him, we ought to conclude in Favour of his good and general*

neral Intentions, notwithſtanding the Appearance of ſome few particular Inſtances (if ſuch could really be aſſign'd) to the contrary.

In 1655, *upon another Inſurrection in* Scotland, GENERAL MONK *went thither again, and in a little Time compos'd thoſe Diſturbances. My Obſervations upon the laſt Expedition into that Kingdom, will ſufficiently obviate any Inferences which may be drawn from hence.*

From this Time to the Meſſage from the KING *to the* GENERAL *by Mr* Monk, *there is little which requires any Animadverſions; only I ſhall wipe off an Imputation of Cruelty during his Adminiſtration in* Scotland. *My Lord* Clarendon * *terms it* a Rod of Iron, *and* a Yoke very grievous to the whole Nation; *an Expreſſion which implies every Thing that is ignoble, tyrannical, and oppreſſive. But how ſhall we reconcile theſe Repreſentations to what he ſays in another* † *Place,* "*That he,* (GENERAL MONK) "*had exercis'd no other Power over them* "*than was abſolutely neceſſary to reduce that Peo-* "*ple to an entire Obedience; and that in all his o-* "*ther Carriage towards them he was friendly and* "*companionable; and as he was feared by the No-* "*bility, and hated by the Clergy, ſo he was not* "*unbelov'd by the common People, who receiv'd* "*more Juſtice, and leſs Oppreſſion from him, than* "*they had been accuſtom'd to, under their own* "*Lords.*" *Dr.* Skinner's *Account of this Matter will be ſeen at* Chap. 3. Section 19. *and more at large at* Sect. 4, 7, 8. *of* Chap. *VII; with whom Dr.* Gumble *agrees.*

I ſhall now attend Mr. Monk, *the Clergyman, with his Majeſty's Meſſage to the* GENERAL, *and*

* Pag. 467. 555. † Page 702.

ſee

ſee what Diſpoſition it found him in, and what Reception is met with from him.

My Lord Clarendon * *ſays,* "*That the* GENERAL *diſmiſs'd him* (his Brother) "*without diſcovering to him any Inclination to the Buſineſs he came about.*" *The ninth Chapter of the following Sheets gives a ſatisfactory Account of this Tranſaction, and a full Confutation of my Lord* Clarendon's *Opinion concerning it. A Declaration for a* free *and a* full *Parliament was immediately drawn up, and ſign'd by the* GENERAL *and his Officers, (though ſuppreſs'd afterwards, upon the Defeat of Sir* George Booth) *in the ſame Stile with that of Sir* George, *and the Lord* Fairfax, *without any mention made of the* King, *or* Monarchy; *and we may as well conclude from* their *Silence and Caution, as from the* GENERAL's, *that they intended no more than they expreſly declar'd. And here it was that the* GENERAL *ſeems to have form'd the particular Scheme for the Reſtoration, by reducing the* Military Power *to the Obedience of the Civil, which he ſo ſucceſsfully executed, and which alone could have ſucceeded. They were ſo afraid of uniting his Majeſty's Enemies by an open Declaration for him, that in Sir* George Booth's *Inſurrection,* the firſt Appearance was only of ſuch Perſons as had not been engag'd on the King's ſide. † *Whereas the* GENERAL *was continually filling up his Army with Perſons of known Affection to the King. And Dr.* Barwick *tells us, in his Brother's Life,* p. 149. "*That in reforming the Officers of his Army, the* GENERAL "*choſe the rather to employ Colonel* Cloberry, *be-*

* Page 702. † Skinner, Chap. 9. Sect. 1.

cauſe

" *cauſe he knew him to be in the King's Intereſt,* " *and that Mr.* Otway (*afterwards Sir* John) " *Brother-in-Law to that Colonel, and moſt inti-* " *mately concern'd with him in the Proſecution of* " *that Intereſt, was ſo well aſſur'd of this, that* " *when almoſt every one elſe deſpair'd of the Royal* " *Cauſe, he had ſtill great Hopes in the General,* " *purely upon this Account.*" Illud ſaltem unum judicium ab eo captabat Otwayus animi in Regem minimè malevoli, cùm cæteri ferè omnes de rerum ſumma deſperarent; quod Cloburii Operâ & Conſilio ad eliminandos ab Exercitu Duces omnes, de quorum fide meritò dubitabat, eò libentius uteretur, quò hominem rei Regiæ ſtudioſiorem noverat. *And if from this Time, we find him more frequent and warm in his Letters, his Conferences, his publick Speeches and Declarations, for the Commonwealth, it was becauſe all his Actions and Proceedings began now to ſpeak more plainly and openly for the* King.

To prevent a Reſtoration, of which the ſeveral Enemies to it were apprehenſive, from the Temper and Diſpoſition of the Body of the Nation, and from the manifeſt Tendency of GENERAL MONK's *Proceedings, notwithſtanding his artful Diſguiſes to conceal it; among other Stratagems employ'd by them to fruſtrate his Purpoſes, they made him an Offer, firſt, of the Palace and Eſtate of* Hampton-Court, *and then of the Government itſelf. Dr.* Skinner *ſeems* * *to think they were not in earneſt in their Compliment, but meant it only as a ſecret Contrivance to ruin the* GENERAL; *for which Opinion the Doctor does not aſſign any Reaſon, nei-*

* Pag. 277. Sect. 8.

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ther am I capable of propoſing a ſatisfactory one. For however bigotted they might be to their Republican *Schemes, which I am apt to think was owing to the Conſideration of their own Safety, more than to the Conviction of their Judgment; or how averſe ſoever they might be to the perſonal Intereſt of the* GENERAL; *the main Point they then aim'd at was, to prevent the Reſtoration of a Family they had ſo much injur'd and provok'd, and from whom their own guilty Conſcience could expect nothing but a juſt Revenge. The* King *was to be kept out upon any Terms; the ſeveral Intereſts and Factions among themſelves, and the united Wiſhes of the reſt of the Nation were ſuch, that they could not think of any probable Means of excluding him, but by the Advancement of* GENERAL MONK. *Upon this View, which was truly the State of the Caſe, it was neceſſary to their Intereſt, (the Principle which actuated and govern'd all their Meaſures) to augment his Power. No doubt Sir* Arthur Hazlerig *knew the Sentiments of the Party, when he offer'd to procure a hundred thouſand Hands that ſhould ſubſcribe to his Title. So terrifying were the Apprehenſions of another Perſon; ſo great the* GENERAL's *Intereſt, that, had he not been ſo faithful a Subject, he might, to all human Appearance, with very little Difficulty, have aſſumed the Name and Power of a* King. *Concerning the Time of this Offer to the* GENERAL, *there is a Diſagreement between my Lord* Clarendon *and the reſt of our Hiſtorians; the one making it antecedent, the other ſubſequent to Sir* John Greenvil's *Application to him.* * *But the common Account, as it is the trueſt, ſo it ſeems to be moſt to the Honour of the* GENERAL's *Refuſal. My Lord* Cla-

* Clar. p. 734, 5.

rendon

rendon *is alſo miſtaken in a material Circumſtance relating to the Conference between Sir* John *and the* GENERAL; *who,* when Sir *John* came to him, after he had ſolemnly conjur'd him to Secrecy, upon the Peril of his Life, told him, he meant to ſend him to the King *. *The* GENERAL *is here repreſented as firſt propoſing the Buſineſs to Sir* John; *whereas Sir* John *with great Difficulty, by the Intereſt of Mr.* Morrice, *gain'd Acceſs to the* GENERAL, *and boldly declar'd his Commiſſion, without any other Encouragement to uſe that Freedom, than what he had drawn from the* GENERAL's *Meaſures, whoſe Caution was ſo great that he did not think it ſafe to reveal a Secret of ſo much Danger to himſelf, and to the Succeſs of his Deſigns, till Sir* John *had ſhewn himſelf, by an extraordinary Inſtance of Prudence and Courage, a Perſon fit to be truſted with ſuch a Secret. A Miſtake which diminiſhes the Glory due to the Character of that Excellent Perſon, and the noble Part he acted; and gives my Lord* Clarendon *an Occaſion to make an Obſervation equally injurious to the Modeſty and Humility of the* GENERAL; *that,* as ſoon as he determin'd *to advance the Deſign, he* conſulted how he might manage it in ſuch a manner, before the Meeting of the Parliament, that what followed might be imputed to his Counſels and Contrivance †. *My Lord* Clarendon *indeed has related the Conduct of* GENERAL MONK, *throughout the whole Affair of the Reſtoration, with leſs Accuracy and Clearneſs than was uſual with that noble and excellent Hiſtorian. The Reaſon of which I hinted at before; that* here

* P. 735. † Pag. 734.

he wrote at a Distance from the Scene of Action, and from the confus'd Informations, if not arbitrary Conjectures of other People, and upon Things wherein the Person, who is the Subject of the Narration, studiously conceal'd his Proceedings, and Motives from the Knowledge of the World. I have lately seen a memorable Passage in some Remarks upon our English *History, That when Sir* John Greenvil *return'd to the King with* GENERAL MONK's *Answer to his Majesty's Letter; the* GENERAL *enjoin'd him to conceal the Knowledge of their Conference from Chancellor* Hyde.

Having mention'd GENERAL MONK's *Refusal of such great Offers, it gives me a proper Occasion to take notice of the Malice, or Ignorance of those, who resolve his Part in the Restoration into* Self-interest, *or* Self-preservation.

He was in so much Credit with all Parties, by the Reputation of his extraordinary Wisdom and Courage, and the Command of an Army affectionately devoted to him, that he could at any Time have united himself to either of them upon his own Terms, whether in respect to Honour, to Power, or Riches. By Overtures of this kind, which he was continually sollicited to accept, he might have been secure of greater Advantages, than were even possible for the King *to grant. Could he expect the Royal Palace and Estate of* Hampton-Court, *the Authority which* Cromwel *enjoy'd, the Title of* King *from the* KING? *And yet all these were offered him, and offer'd directly, to prevent his adhering to the* King's *Interest.*

But if he went over to the King, *as they represent, upon the Prospect of a better Bargain, how did he so resolutely decline any Bargain at all? If Interest was*

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the Motive to his Loyalty, undoubtedly 'twas his Intereſt to ſecure to himſelf and Friends the Advantages he propos'd, by an expreſs Stipulation. Is it natural or cuſtomary for ſelfiſh Men to prefer a precarious and uncertain Reward, to one that is determinate and ſecure? Eſpecially conſidering, that Services have generally a larger Value ſet upon them, when wanted, than after they are effected. Nothing can be conceiv'd more generous and diſintereſted than the GENERAL's *entire Confidence in the Honour and Goodneſs of the* King; *nothing a greater Argument of Innocence, and a real and habitual Affection to the* King's *Service. Guilt is always diſtruſtful; and if the* GENERAL's *own Conſcience had accus'd him as much as ſome others have done, he would have been more careful, upon the Return to his Duty, to have ſecur'd the Pardon of his former Diſloyalty, or at leaſt, the Reward of his growing Services.*

And for the Motive of Self-preſervation; *this Pretence, if poſſible, is ſtill more unreaſonable than the former, having indeed no manner of Foundation. For the* GENERAL *always had it in his Power to prevent the Reſtoration, without any Danger or Difficulty. When he modell'd his Army in* Scotland, *inſtead of giving Umbrage to their Jealouſy of him, by putting in Perſons, in their Language, diſaffected, could he not as eaſily have found others of different Inclinations? When he was at* Coldſtream, *and* Lambert *marching againſt him with a much ſuperior Force, could he not have concluded a ſafe and Advantageous Peace, inſtead of running the Hazard of a total Defeat? And after he came to* London, *inſtead of diſſolving the* Junto, *and calling a* new *Parliament, the*

Inclinations of which he could eaſily gueſs at, could he not have remov'd their Suſpicions, and prevented their Attempts upon his Life, by joining with them, and the Forces commanded by Fleetwood? *The Difficulty and Danger of attempting the Reſtoration, is urged as an Argument againſt* GENERAL MONK's *intending it, while they make the Reſtoration the ſafeſt thing he could think of. But how to make out the Neceſſity of doing a thing in order to our Preſervation, which is attended with the greateſt Difficulties, and the moſt imminent Dangers, does not, I confeſs, appear clear to my Apprehenſion, and cannot, I believe, be naturally accounted for by any other Perſon.*

There is one Imputation more, reſpecting the good Intentions of GENERAL MONK *towards the* King's *Return, which a learned and worthy Perſon, Mr.* Echard, *has thought worth tranſcribing at large from Mr.* Lock *into his Hiſtory. I wiſh he had thought it worth a particular Conſideration, and not have* left it wholly to the Judgment of the Reader; *ſince every Reader is not attentive enough, nor otherwiſe qualified to make a true Judgment of a Matter of Fact, where ſo many Circumſtances are to be compar'd, in order to judge with Certainty concerning the Probability, or Improbability of it. The ſame Juſtice and Tenderneſs are due to the Character of deceaſed Perſons, which were owing to their Reputation when living; and if an Hiſtorian inſerts any Relation, either upon the Credit of common Fame, or the Authority of any Writer, which obſcures the Glory of a great and good Action; it ſhould be mention'd with all its Circumſtances of Credibili-*

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ty and Incredibility, for fear an indolent, an inaccurate, or ignorant Reader ſhould believe and propagate it, upon the bare Credit of the Perſon by whom it is related; it being very natural for the World to conclude, that a judicious and candid Perſon would not relate any thing to the diſadvantage of an eminent Character, eſpecially without declaring his diſbelief of it, if he thought it incredible. Nay, I cannot but conſider this Rule as more particularly binding upon an Hiſtorian; becauſe if he does an Injury, he does a more laſting and irreparable one, by tranſmitting it to diſtant Ages; and injures not only the Reputation of him who is immediately affected by it, but is an Enemy to the publick Good of Society, by weakening the Force of thoſe Motives and Incitements to Virtue, whereof Mankind are generally moſt ſenſible. And I will venture to ſay further, that this Obſervation concerns an Hiſtorian whom I have lately mention'd, as much as any Hiſtorian, whoſe deſerv'd Reputation for Diligence, Candor, Capacity, and Fidelity will be ſo likely to give Weight and Authority to the Facts he reports.

But there is one Circumſtance which does not perfectly agree with the Neutrality Mr. Echard *profeſſes in this Matter. Immediately after the Relation of it, he ſays,* This gave the great Turn to the Reſtoration of King *Charles. And in the* Index, *under* Aſhley Cooper *I find this general Head,* The main Inſtrument of the Reſtoration; *referring, for the Particulars, to this Story of Mr.* Lock. *From whence I conclude, that Mr.* Echard *thought Sir* Anthony *the* main Inſtrument of the Reſtoration, *and that he grounded his Opinion upon the Evidence of this Story; which is not*

leaving it wholly to the Judgment of the Reader, *but giving his* own *Judgment, and declaring his Belief of it. If I have injur'd this worthy Gentleman's Meaning, I heartily ask his Pardon: But I can understand it in no other Sense.*

The Story which I am going to examine, may be seen in Mr. Lock's *Memoirs of Sir* Anthony Ashley Cooper, *afterwards created Lord* Shaftsbury, *or in Mr.* Echard's * *History. It is too long to be transcrib'd here, but the Substance of it is thus:*

"*That General* Monk's *Wife overheard him* "*making an Agreement with the* French *Ambas-* "*sador, to take the Government upon himself, up-* "*on the Assurance of Assistance from* France; "*that she sent Sir* Anthony Ashley Cooper *im-* "*mediate Notice of it, who summoned the* Coun- "cil of State, *whereof he was one; That Sir* An- "thony *skilfully, and by distant Intimations,* "*charg'd the General with it, who discover'd, by* "*some Disorders and Confusion in his Looks, that* "*he was guilty; and so disappointed him in his* "*Design, by proposing such Alterations in the* "*Army, as made it cease to be at his Devo-* "*tion.*"

I only desire the following Circumstances to be considered; and then I shall be very willing, with Mr. Echard, *to leave the Determination of the Case* to the Judgment of the Reader.

In the first Place, Mr. Echard *observes, that* this Account is singular, *being taken Notice of by no other Writer but Mr.* Lock, *nor attested*

* Page 758, Third Edition.

by

by any other Evidence; which Circumſtance alone ſeems very much to leſſen the Credibility of the Fact. The GENERAL *is ſaid to have been ſo confounded in the Council, when Sir* Anthony *charg'd him with it, that* all the Company were convinced ſome foul Play was intended, though they did not then particularly know what the Matter was; *that Sir* Anthony *laid hold of this Opportunity to propoſe, what the* GENERAL *under thoſe Difficulties found himſelf oblig'd to conſent to,* ſo great a Change of the Army, that it ceas'd to be at *Monk*'s Devotion, and was put into Hands that would not ſerve him in the Deſign. *Now it is at all probable that ſo remarkable a thing ſhould happen, that ſuch ſudden and great Changes ſhould be made in the Army, without any mention made of it in Hiſtory? That none of the Council ſhould afterwards enquire more particularly into the Occaſion of them, when they ſaw, by the* GENERAL*'s Confuſion, that it was ſome deep Deſign, at which he was then aiming? That among ſo many Enemies as the* GENERAL *then had, watching all Opportunities to aſperſe him, and ſo many more envious of his Glory and Power, none of them ſhould know or publiſh the Fact wherewith he had been charged?*

Mr. Echard *obſerves further, that Mr.* Lock had this Account, probably, from the Fountain Head, *meaning my Lord* Shaftsbury. *Which, I think, is ſo far from being a probable Circumſtance, that it carries another juſt Ground of Suſpicion. That Lord was not abſolutely free from Ambition and Opiniatrety; and this Story tended to gratify his Vanity, as it might be thought to afford a ſignal Proof of his Penetration and Addreſs, in*

discovering, and disconcerting the GENERAL's *Project; which is professedly the Reason of Mr.* Lock's *mentioning this Story. And it likewise favour'd his Prospect of Interest at Court, as it gave him a Pretence to make a Demand upon the Crown, of some considerable Post of Honour or Profit, for so extraordinary a piece of Service.*

Much of the Probability of this Matter depends upon the Evidence of the GENERAL's *Wife, and her Evidence in a good Measure upon her Zeal for the Restoration, which is not so clear as it ought to be, considering the Stress which is laid upon it. If I had the Liberty to use the Name of a great Man now living, I might convince the World, that she was not likely to oppose the Advancement of the* GENERAL, *when it was offer'd by the* French *Ambassador, having before shewn so much Resentment to Mr.* Morrice, *for endeavouring to persuade the* GENERAL *to refuse an Offer of the same Nature from the* Parliament.

But upon the Supposition of her violent Zeal, let us consider what her Evidence is, and how far it will go. She, from another Room, hears the Particulars of the Agreement under Consideration. *Now if her Affections were so warmly interested in this Matter, they must needs excite her Fears, and her Fears might naturally make her fansy she heard things which she did not, and improve some broken and imperfect Sentences in an express and positive Contract. Which is the more likely to be true, from the natural Caution of the* GENERAL, *who was not us'd to talk so loud upon such dangerous Subjects, that a Person in another Room might hear distinctly the Particulars of their Conversation; especially considering his own Quickness of*

of hearing, which was ſo exceeding perfect, that no-body could ſafely whiſper a Secret in the ſame Room *.

But according to Mr. Lock's *Account the main Part of the Evidence is the Diſorder and Confuſion of the* GENERAL; *from whoſe Looks and Behaviour they argue more, than from the Authority of the Lady's Information. In anſwer to this, I ſhall only cite a Paſſage in* Ludlow's *Memoirs, relating to King* CHARLES I. *his Reception of the News of the Maſſacre in* Ireland. I have it, *ſays he,* from good Hands, that the King was pleas'd with it. *Now what did theſe* good Hands *found this horrid Calumny upon, but the* King's *Looks and Behaviour, obſerved by ſome who happen'd to be preſent at that Time? For it never was pretended, that he ever acknowledged ſo impious and inhuman a Pleaſure: If then the Hatred of any Perſon or Perſons towards that good Prince, whoſe natural Tenderneſs and Compaſſion, and whoſe habitual Piety render'd him ſo averſe to Acts of Cruelty, could occaſion ſo wide a Miſconſtruction of his Behaviour and Looks; may we not with more Reaſon allow ſomething to the Vanity of Sir* Anthony Aſhley Cooper, *or to ſome other Paſſion, or Prepoſſeſſion in the reſt of the Council, in the Conſtruction of* GENERAL MONK's *Looks and Behaviour?*

In what Order of Time to place this memorable Conference, Mr. Lock *does not inform us. Mr.* Echard *relates it immediately after the Re-*

* *Skinner*, p. 418.

fuſal

fusal of the Government from the Parliament. But whether it was before or after (about that Time, no doubt, it happened, if at all) it was prior to Sir John Greenvil's *Application to the* GENERAL, *when the* GENERAL *first own'd his Design of restoring the* King, *saying what he told Dr.* Price *privately at* Coldstream. *Now this Account of Mr.* Lock *supposes, that the* GENERAL *had given Sir* Anthony, *and the rest of the Council, Assurances of it before; which must be the Meaning of the following Words:* The General averring, that he stood firm to what he had professed to them. * *Here is an Inconsistency never to be reconcil'd, and which explains the whole Intent of this Piece of private History. Sir* Anthony *wanted to have it believ'd, that* the Plan of the Restoration was laid by him, *and that* GENERAL MONK, *was drawn into it by the Influence of his Councils.*

Besides these Inconsistencies, and Defects in the Evidence which is to support this Fact, the Fact itself is improbable. For though † *Mr.* Echard *calls this,* The General's greatest Temptation, *I can never believe, that a wise Man would accept of the Government from a* French *Interest, and refuse it from the* Parliament *of* England: *A People, to whom the Apprehension of a* King's *coming in, or governing by a* foreign *Power, was so dreadful, that an Attempt of that kind would have united all the several Interests in the Kingdom against the* GENERAL: *The* Republicans, *upon the Strength of their insuperable Aversion to* Monar-

* Page 758. † Pag. 757.

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chy; *the* Royaliſts, *in regard to their* Maſter's *Intereſt. Even his own* Army was not ſo united to him, *or ſo abſolutely devoted to his Intereſt, but that a great Part of his Officers would have left him,* if he had taken ſuch a Reſolution; *much leſs was it* his Deſign to form an Army to an implicit Obedience to whatever Reſolution he ſhould think fit to take, *as my Lord* Clarendon * *repreſents it, but to a Compliance with his Meaſures for the* Reſtoration. *Otherwiſe how could his Regulations in the Army become, as undoubtedly they were, the avow'd Grounds of their Jealouſy concerning him? How came they never to entertain the leaſt Imagination of his having a Deſign to ſet up himſelf, but only from the Temper and Inclinations of his Army, which they knew to be towards another Perſon? Before he began his March from* Scotland, *the* Scots, *who, from their Eſteem and Love for him, were the moſt likely to ſerve him in ſuch a Deſign, offer'd to raiſe, and maintain at their own Charge, ſeven Thouſand five hundred Men, which he refus'd to accept, tho' he was going with leſs than ſix Thouſand againſt* Lambert, *whoſe Army conſiſted of twelve Thouſand. The Reaſon of his refuſing this ſeaſonable Supply, in Appearance ſo neceſſary to his own Safety, and the Ends of his Ambition, if he had any ſuch in view, can be reſolved into nothing, but his extreme Caution, leſt he ſhould give Occaſion to ſuſpect, that he had any Deſign of employing a Foreign Aſſiſtance, whereby he might enſlave the Nation, and is abſolutely inconſiſtent*

* Pag. 715.

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with the Suppoſition of his intending to ſet up himſelf.

Upon the whole Matter: Whatever political Reaſons the GENERAL *might have for deliberating, as Mr.* Echard *ſays* * *he did, whether he ſhould accept the Government as the Gift of the Parliament, or for ſeeming to comply with the ſame Propoſal from the* French *Ambaſſador, according to Mr.* Lock, *(which indeed I do not believe) there is no Reaſon to think he intended either.*

There is another Reflection upon his Character, which is equally groundleſs with any of the foregoing ones, That he was in his Inclinations for Presbytery.

So far was he from being inclin'd *to* Presbytery, *that when he was offer'd the* Covenant, *to qualify himſelf for his firſt Commiſſion under the Parliament, Dr.* Gumble *tells us, he conſulted with many learned Men, before he could ſatisfy his Scruples about the Lawfulneſs of* That *Engagement, the principal Deſign of which was to aboliſh* Epiſcopacy. *What Encouragement he gave the* Presbyterians *a little before the* Reſtoration, *was wholly political, and for Reaſons very obvious. The reſt of his Carriage towards that People, eſpecially in* Scotland, *where they had moſt Power, and thereby the beſt Opportunity of diſcovering their Principles and Temper, beſpeak his Opinion of them; as alſo their avow'd Hatred towards him, (which my Lord* Clarendon *takes particular Notice of, in a Paſſage already cited in this Preface) is a Witneſs that they did not eſteem him a Friend either to their Cauſe, or their Perſons.*

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* Page 757.

But

But in his Speech to the Junćto, *concerning the Settlement of the Kingdom, he ſays:* Moderate, not rigid Presbyterian Government ſeems beſt adapted to the Intereſt of *England.*

Occaſional Arguments expreſſed in ſuch looſe and general Terms, are very uncertain Proofs of a Man's Sentiments. The GENERAL *was arguing upon this Occaſion from* Republican *Principles; and a* Common-wealth *in the Church, might agree well enough, perhaps, beſt with a* Common-Wealth *in the* State. *But a Parity of Orders in the one will not agree ſo well with a Subordination in the other; nor the Diſcipline of a* Kirk, *with the Prerogative of a* KING. Epiſcopacy, *as it is moſt agreeable to Scripture and primitive Antiquity, ſo it has been, and ever will be found the beſt Friend to* Monarchy; *Which is the true Reaſon of ſome Peoples diſlike of it. How they mutually ſupport and ſtrengthen each other, and how unlikely it is, that either of them ſhould long ſubſiſt, ſeparately, in* England, *we learn unhappily from the Fate of* CHARLES I. Like *Saul* and *Jonathan*, they were lovely in their Lives, and in their Deaths they were not divided.

I ſhall detain the Reader no longer than while I give him a ſhort Account of the Manuſcript from whence the following Life was taken.

In the firſt Place, I muſt aſſure the Publick, That I have not alter'd the Senſe or Expreſſion in any one Inſtance throughout the Hiſtory; except that I have, in ſome few Places, added a Word where it was neceſſary to a Grammatical Conſtruction;

ſtruction; and divided the Book into Chapters and Sections for the Reader's Conveniency.

The Copy was found in the Study of Mr. Owen, *late Curate at* Bockin *in* Eſſex. *I had trac'd it up by a probable Tradition in that Neighbourhood, to Dr.* Skinner, *who liv'd at* Colcheſter, *and was Phyſician to the Duke of* ALBEMARLE, *when reſiding at* New-hall *in* Eſſex. *And I have ſince compar'd it with ſome of the Doctor's Bills from off the File at* Colcheſter; *and from the Similitude of Hands, I believe it to be the Doctor's own Hand-writing.*

But after the greateſt Part of my Copy was printed, Mr. Great, *an eminent Apothecary in* Colcheſter, *was ſo kind as to ſend me another Copy, which agrees literally with mine, and was tranſcrib'd by Mr.* Shelton, *formerly Rector of St.* James's *in* Colcheſter; *after whoſe Death, it fell into the Hands of Mr.* Great. *I preſume this Copy was tranſcrib'd, by the Author's own Direction, for the Preſs, becauſe it has his Name, the Title, the Year, the Place, and Printer's Name to it, which mine had not. However it demonſtrates, that this Hiſtory was written by Dr.* Skinner. *The Reader alſo cannot but obſerve, that the Author of this Hiſtory mentions his having wrote* ſomething of a like Nature, *though* in another Language; *by which he certainly means his* Motus Compoſiti.

Anthony Wood, *in his* Faſti Oxonienſes, *Vol. II. Pag.* 189. *gives the following Account of Dr.* Skinner.

"*Thomas*

" *Thomas Skinner* of St. *John*'s College, *Ox-*
" *ford*, was actually created Doctor of Phyſick,
" by Virtue of the Letters of the Chancellor
" of the Univerſity, which ſay, that he was
" for ſome Time bred at *Cambridge*; but was
" forc'd to leave that Univerſity in the Times
" of Uſurpation, by Reaſon of the illegal Oaths,
" and other Impoſitions offered to him, where-
" by he was prevented taking his Degree.
" And this Doctor hath added a third *Latin*
" Part, which he calls *Motus Compoſiti*; after-
" wards tranſlated into *Engliſh* by another Hand,
" with a Preface by a Perſon of Quality.

There is a Collection of Papers referred to at Pag. 333. *which I never could get any Account of.*

The Epitaph upon the Duke of ALBEMARLE *was printed by itſelf a little after his Death, and being out of Print, I have ſubjoyn'd it to his Hiſtory, hoping it may be acceptable to the Reader.*

Feb. 13. 172⅔.
Hind-Court,
Fleetſtreet.

William Webſter.

THE

THE AUTHOR's PREFACE.

I HAVE heretofore publiſhed ſomething of a like Nature with the following Sheets, (tho' in another Language) wherein ſeveral Things, thro' want of better Information, were imperfectly deſcribed; yet the fair and charitable Reception it met with from the Readers, has not only encouraged me to entertain them again with the enſuing Relation, but has equally oblig'd me to make them ſome Amends by a more correct and

enlarg'd Account of thoſe things, concerning which I was then either miſtaken or defective.

YET if any Man thinks he has Reaſon to admire at my Attempt in writing the Life and Actions of the late Duke of *Albemarle*, I ſhall meet him with a juſter Wonder, that this Province had not been undertaken by ſome other Hand; and that whilſt the Lives of ſeveral leſs conſiderable or ſubordinate Perſons have been deſervedly written, we find ſo little († except an haſty and looſe Account publiſhed to ſerve a private Occaſion) recorded of this great *Inſtaurator*. But whilſt ſome (by the Benefit of his Prudence and Succeſs) have had ſo great Leiſure, and others ſo great Obligations, the Hiſtory and Actions of this illuſtrious Perſon have (for ten Years ſince his Death) lain altogether neglected, and paſſed over in Silence.

THIS Diſregard towards his Memory does loudly arraign the Ingratitude of this Age, and is a ſort of new Fanaticiſm, ſucceſſive to the former, which he had ſo fortunately ſuppreſs'd; by which we are become as much Enemies to his Glory, as the *Committee* of *Safety* or *Rump* Parliament were to his Deſigns, or *Scot* and *Cobbet* to his Perſon. Po-

† *The Life of General* Monk, *by Dr.* Gumble.

ſterity

ſterity will bluſh and wonder, to find no other Monument of him than a ſtuff'd *Effigy* in a Preſs at *Weſtminſter*, to whoſe Fame and Memory, in elder and more grateful Times, Temples and Altars would have been erected.

And now this Attempt of gathering a few rough Stones towards his Monument, being fallen to my Share, I am very ſenſible, that in deſcribing the Fortune and Actions of the *Duke* of *Albemarle*, I muſt alſo encounter all his Enemies, and run over the whole Series of his Adventures again from *Coleſtream* to *London*: Yet whilſt I am employed in this Service, I eſteem my ſelf ſtill under the Protection of the Sword, and the wiſe and auſpicious Conduct of that great *General*.

But that I have undertaken his Hiſtory, who was never concern'd in any of his Actions, and had the Honour to know him only in the laſt Years of his Life; I reckon it a very little and unequal Exception againſt me, ſince I am ſure no Hiſtories have been worſe written than by thoſe who had ſome Share in the Actions they relate; nor better, than by others who were unconcern'd, and took their Aim at a Diſtance. For though the former may be preſumed to have a more diſtinct and perfect Knowledge of things, yet ſuch Writers have always had ſome body

whom they fear'd to diſpleaſe, and others whom they were oblig'd to dignify; beſides an inſeparable Humour of working in ſome little Actions of their own, which have ſcarce ever been ſo decently inſerted, but that they have put ſome Shadow or Diſadvantage upon the Luſtre of the chief Actor. Upon this Account many are the trifling Paſſages of *Philip de Comines*, which would never have been mentioned by any Writer but himſelf, who had acted ſome Part in thoſe times. And that I may not trouble the Reader with remoter Inſtances, the Accounts that are already extant of this great Perſon, whom we are now deſcribing, and drawn by ſuch as ſtood ſomewhat nearer to the Scene of his Actions, are (to ſay nothing harder) a very particular and convincing Argument, that ſuch Perſons are not always the fitteſt to relate them.

YET in Matters of this Nature the *Dictator Cæſar* muſt always be excepted, who was a very extraordinary Perſon at his Pen, as well as his Sword, and wrote his own Actions and Encounters as regularly as he fought them.

ON the other ſide, *Livy* has given us the Hiſtory of the *Roman* Commonwealth and *Conſulary* Times with the greater Exactneſs and Eloquence; and *Tacitus* has deſcrib'd the *Imperial* Government with the deeper

Judgment

Judgment and Reſearch; yet the firſt was coeval to the laſt Part of his own *Decad*, but died under the Empire: And the other was an Infant at the End of his own *Annals*, and but of Years fit to write about the Time which concludes his Hiſtory: So that neither of them wrote from any particular Knowledge of their own, but both of them had a great Induſtry to collect Relations, an equal Judgment in chuſing the beſt, and perhaps ſome particular and concealed Advantages for Information. The moſt ſteady and exemplary Writer of Lives, *Plutarch*, never ſaw the Faces of any of thoſe brave *Greeks* and *Romans* whom he deſcribed, who were all in their Urns and Aſhes many Years before his Time.

The Hiſtory of the *Belgic* War is very juſtly eſteemed one of the moſt abſolute and compleat Draughts of modern Story; yet we find not, that the Author *Strada* was ever nearer *Flanders* than his College at *Rome*; but drew all thoſe fair and exact Lines from the Letters, and Memorials, and other Informations of the Prince of *Parma*.

In which Advantage we pretend to ſome Parallel with that great Author, having had the Opportunity to peruſe a great Part of thoſe Papers reſcued from the Fire in *London*, beſides other Memorials and MSS. relating to the Time and Actions we deſcribe. We

have had alſo the Privilege of frequent and particular Diſcourſe and Information from more Perſons of Honour and Quality than were immediately concern'd or employ'd in the principal Affairs of that Age, ſo that the Reader may believe we have written with ſome convenient Light by us.

AND whereas ſeveral Paſſages are herein mentioned, that ſerve only to continue the Order and Connexion of our Story; I have not held my ſelf oblig'd to deſcribe them more particularly than was neceſſary for that End, reſerving our principal Care and Exactneſs for thoſe Affairs in which the Duke of *Albemarle* was moſt eſpecially concern'd.

IN thoſe Inſtances which the Wiſdom of the State has thought fit to conceal, we have not preſumed to make too near an Approach, or pry too inquiſitively into the Art of Government; nor in doubtful Paſſages to amuſe our Reader with bold and preſumptuous Conjectures: But in all Particulars (reſerving our Allegiance to the Supremacy of Truth) have endeavour'd to make the beſt of our own Age, being ſure that the ſucceeding (when we have done all we can) will not fail to pay us home with Satire and Reflexion.

BUT though I have given my Reader ſome Account of ſuch Advantages, as came in my Way for compiling this Work, and have made him privy to my Aim and Method in the

Management of it, yet I eſteem my ſelf oblig'd to acknowledge to him my many other particular Defects; and to ask Pardon of this Age, and of Poſterity alſo, that being placed in the Vale of a low and private Life, I have adventured to draw the great Lines of a Perſon that ſtood ſo high; who, as he was ſingled out by the ſupreme Providence for great and extraordinary Performances; ſo he was certainly none of the ordinary Productions of God's Hand, but a very ſublime and ſingular Perſon, fill'd with all thoſe Qualities and Endowments, which were neceſſary to accompliſh thoſe great Things to which he was deſigned.

He had Prudence ſufficient to diſcern or fruſtrate all the Arts and Contrivances of the Crafty; a Courage that was not to be encountred by the boldeſt Rebels, or Oppoſers of his Allegiance; a deliberate Patience in chuſing the true Meaſures and Minutes of his Buſineſs; and an impregnable Silence, by which he kept himſelf and his Purpoſes in the dark to his Enemies, and left no Track behind him.

All which, with the particular Actions of his Life, we have endeavour'd (with greater Faithfulneſs than Ability) to deſcribe in the enſuing Story, that the Reader may firſt inform his Knowledge in the ſtupendous Contrivance of his Majeſty's Reſtauration, and

anew confirm his own Allegiance by ſo great an Example.

As to the Truth of Things, (eſpecially in the main Point of this Hiſtory) it ſhall be anſwer'd for by my ſelf; but for my manifold Defects in the Method or Language, I muſt be enforc'd to lean ſomewhat hard upon the charitable Opinion and Indulgence of my Reader.



THE

THE LIFE OF General *MONK.*

CHAP. I.

I. *His Birth, and ſome Account concerning the Circumſtances of his Family.* II. *The Occaſion of a moſt baſe Indignity offer'd to his Father,* Sir Thomas Monk. III. *He reſents it after a Manner that obliges his Father to ſend him ſooner into* Spain *than he otherwiſe intended, under the Command of* Sir Richard Greenvill, *his Relation.*

tion. IV. *The next Year he goes in the Expedition to the Iſle of* Rhee, *and is made an Enſign.* V. *Peace being concluded with* France, *he repairs, in the Earl of* Oxford's *Regiment, to ſerve in the* Netherlands: *Is afterwards removed under the Command of Lord* Goring, *and made Captain of his own Company.* VI. *His Conduct in that Service.* VII. *A memorable Act of Injuſtice done to him at* Dort; *upon which he generouſly throws up his Commiſſion.* VIII. *His Return to* England *upon the firſt Beginning of the* Scotch *Rebellion, with the true Grounds of it.*

I. GEORGE, Duke of *Albemarle*, was born at *Potheridge* in *Devonſhire* on *Tueſday* the 6th of *December*, in the Year 1608. In his Youth he was brought up at School in the Country, reſiding ſometimes with his Father, ſometimes with his Grandfather by the Mother's Side, Sir *George Smith*, who was alſo his *Godfather*. Being a younger Brother, and the Eſtate of the Family ſomewhat in Declenſion, he was deſigned to make his Fortune by the Sword, and to be ſent to the Wars abroad, being not yet full ſeventeen Years of Age. To which Employment he was haſten'd ſomewhat ſooner than his Friends

Friends intended, by an Accident, which, though it be ſufficiently known, yet, being the firſt publick Adventure of his Life, we will not omit the Relation of it.

KING *James* being newly dead, and the Buſineſs of the *Palatinate* growing now deſperate, and the *Spaniſh* Match broken off, in ſuch ſort as ſeem'd to threaten a War with that Crown, and which was alſo voted in Parliament; His Majeſty, *Charles* I. among other Inſtances of his Care, viſits thoſe Parts of his Kingdom which lay moſt directly oppoſite to *Spain*, to take a View of the Condition of his Navy, and upon that Account came as far as *Plimouth* in *Devonſhire*, where the Gentry, according to their Duty, were making ready to attend him. Among the reſt Sir *Thomas Monk* (who was always a very conſiderable Perſon in the publick Affairs of the County) reſolv'd to be preſent. But knowing there were ſeveral Encumbrances left by his Father upon the Eſtate, and that he might be obnoxious to ſome Judgment or Statute againſt him, he firſt ſent his Son *George* to the Under-Sheriff of the County, deſiring that he might with Liberty and Freedom attend upon his Majeſty, upon this publick Occaſion, now entring the County: And for ſo great Reſpect ſhew'd him, that he would accept the Gratuity he had ſent him

him by his Son. The Attorney acknowledg'd Sir *Thomas Monk's* Desire to be at that Time very fair and reasonable, accepted the Present, and promis'd him Security. Yet, notwithstanding, afterwards he found it his Interest to arrest the Person of Sir *Thomas Monk* upon an Execution, in the most publick Place of the County where they were, at their Convenience, to receive his Majesty.

II. The Villany of this treacherous Action was not so deeply resented by Sir *Thomas* himself as by his Son *George*, insomuch that he sought out the next Opportunity to meet the Under-Sheriff at *Exeter*, where, having expostulated the Indignity of the Action, he effectually cudgel'd him for his Perfidy. The Courage of the Attorney was much at the Rate of his Honesty; but being a Retainer to the Law, he expected the Law should vindicate him; and to that End was making ready his working Tools, to reckon with the young Gentleman for the Battery.

III. This Accident led his Father to send him abroad somewhat sooner than he had intended. And the Voyage for *Cadiz* in *Spain* being then designed, he was committed to the Care of a near Relation, Sir *Richard Greenvill*, who had Command in that Expedition. This was the first Tryal he was

to

to make of that Profeſſion he intended to follow, and which prov'd ſo unlucky as might well have diſcourag'd a new Beginner. For the Expedition, through many Miſadventures of Wind and Weather, and other unfortunate Accidents, beſides a contagious Sickneſs in the Navy, proving unſucceſsful, the Fleet return'd about the End of the Year home to *Plimouth*, and this our young Soldier with it.

IV. THE following Year began the War with *France*, upon Cauſes ſufficiently known. And in the Expedition to the Iſle of *Rhee* and *Rochel* he accompany'd Sir *John Burroughs*. In the Voyage to *Spain* he had ſerved only as a private Soldier, but now he was made *Enſign* in this Voyage to the Iſle of *Rhee*; it is not eaſy to ſay which were greater, the Misfortunes of the *Engliſh*, or their Courage. But in leſs than two Years time the *Rochellers*, for whoſe Sake the War was undertaken, ſubmitting to their own King, and the Crowns of *England* and *France*, by the Mediation of the State of *Venice*, coming to an Agreement, he came back from *Rhee* 1628. and the next Year (being now 21 Years of Age) he went into the *Low-Countries*.

V. ENGLAND being now at Peace with her Neighbours, and having no Occaſion for Men of the Sword, the Enſign *Monk* betook himſelf

himſelf to the great Seminary of War and warlike Men, the *United Provinces*, where he was firſt entertained in the Regiment of the Earl of *Oxford*: And after ſome Years was remov'd into the Command of the Lord *Goring*, and made Captain of his own Company, not being yet arrived to the 30th Year of his Age.

VI. In this Service he did not, like a young Captain, retain his Commiſſion as a Warrant for Luxury and Extravagance, but in earneſt minded the Buſineſs of a Soldier, informing himſelf duly in all the Methods and Arts of War, being preſent at moſt of the great Actions that happen'd, during his almoſt ten Years Continuance in that Employment.

VII. In the laſt Year of his Service to that State (the Buſineſs of the Summer being over) he had his Winter Quarters aſſign'd him at *Dort*: Where there happen'd a Difference between him and the *Burghers*, upon this Occaſion. Some of his Soldiers had committed Diſorders in the Town, for which he was ready and ſevere enough to have puniſhed them according to Martial Diſcipline. But the imperious *Burgher-Maſters* would take the Buſineſs under their own Cognizance, pretending they could allow no Authority in their own Liberties equal to, or diſtinct from their own,

own. And this proceeded at last to so great a Quarrel, that the Matter was brought to the Hearing of the Prince of *Orange*: Who, though he had lately, in the same Instance, given his Judgment for Sir *Richard Cave*, yet was now so far prevail'd upon to favour rather the Authority of the *Burghers*; and Captain *Monk* was forc'd to exchange his Quarters at *Dort* for worse in a meaner Place. The Circumstances of this ill Usage so greatly disoblig'd him, who, under a plain and moderate Behaviour, carry'd great and generous Spirits; that he quickly after threw up his Commission, disdaining to expose himself any longer in the Service of an ingrateful Commonwealth.

VIII. FROM *Holland* he return'd back to *England* about the 30th Year of his Age, about the Time that the first *Scotch* War began. A War never to be remembred without Horror and Detestation, as being the Prelude, by the Success and Advantage of it, to the Rebellion in *Ireland*, and to the long and bloody Civil War that presently after followed in *England*. This Rebellion in *Scotland* was fomented by some of the *Nobility* of the Kingdom, to avoid refunding back to the Church the Lands they had in the Minority of King *James* alienated; by the insolent *Clergy*, to withdraw themselves from Subjection to their *Bishops*; and by the *People*, through

through a certain Sottiſhneſs of Nature, and a deprav'd Education. From *France* it was ſupported by the Cardinal *Richlieu*, who ſent private Emiſſaries over, to adviſe and encourage them, and thereby was revenged on King *Charles* I. for aiding the *Rochellers*. From *England* it had the Approbation and good Wiſhes of all the *Puritans* and *Non-conformiſts*, who abetted the Diſſenſions of *Scotland*, as a Support to the Common Cauſe, or a Place, if there might be Occaſion, of Retreat.

CHAP. II.

I. *He is made Lieutenant-Colonel in the Expedition againſt the Rebels in* Scotland; *his Conduct and Bravery in that Expedition.* II. *A Treaty at* Rippon *with the* Scots, *too favourable and advantageous to thoſe Rebels.* III. *Earl of* Leiceſter *made Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland. IV. *Lieutenant-Colonel* Monk *attends him thither, and is made Colonel of his own Regiment.* V. *His Services againſt the Rebels about* Dublin, *recommend him to the Government of that City.* VI. *The Incurſion of the* Scots *into* England. VII. *Which cauſed a Ceſſation with the* Iriſh

Iriſh *Rebels, and obliged the King to recall the* Engliſh *Army to his Aſſiſtance.* VIII. *Colonel* Monk *returns with them, but is ſuſpected, as being the Earl of* Leiceſter's *Colonel, to favour the Parliament; and, upon that Suſpicion, ordered to be ſecured at* Briſtol: *Lord* Hawley, *Governor of that Place, permits him to go upon his Parole to the King at* Oxford, *to whom he is introduc'd by Lord* Digby. IX. *The King, in regard to the great Reputation which he had acquired in the Army, admits him to a private Conference with his Majeſty.* X. *His Opinion concerning the State of the King's Army there, which he declares to the King, who makes him Major General to the* Iriſh *Brigade. He is taken Priſoner by Sir* Thomas Fairfax. *A Character of Sir* Thomas. *And of how great Importance Major General* Monk *was thought by the Parliament, who remove him from* Hull *to the Tower of* London. XI. *His Father, Sir* Thomas Monk, *dies, and leaves him an Annuity. Obſtacles to his Releaſe from his Impriſonment.* XII. *The King privately ſends him a* 100l. XIII. *The Parliament propoſed, by his long Impriſonment, to gain him over to their Side. A favourable Occaſion for his Enlargement.* XIV. *The Motives upon which he accepted a*

Commiſſion to ſerve againſt the Rebels in Ireland, *under the Lord* Liſle, *with whom he return'd to* England.

I. CAPTAIN *Monk* had, by his long Stay in the *Netherland*'s War, brought home the Reputation of a good Soldier; and at the Recommendation of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, to whom he was ally'd, was placed Lieutenant Colonel to the Regiment of the Earl of *Newport*, who was then General of the Ordnance. Both thoſe Northern Expeditions had but little Action in them. But at *Newborn*, after the *Scots* preſſed hard upon his Quarters, with very few Men, and leſs Ammunition, he ſo lined the Hedges with his Firelocks, and brought off the Ordnance with that Bravery and Conduct, that none of all the *Scotch* Regiments had the Courage or Confidence to impede his Retreat. And when the Earl of *Strafford*, General of the Army, moved the King, inſtead of treating further with ſuch inſolent Rebels, to give him Leave to charge them: Lieutenant Colonel *Monk* was one of thoſe few that earneſtly urged a Battel, and gave very good Reaſons for the Security of the Event: And was many times afterwards heard to diſcourſe it with a particular Indignation, that ſo brave a Force of Horſe and Foot, able to have reduced a better Army than the Covenanters could raiſe, and

and another kind of Kingdom than *Scotland*, ſhould be ſo baſely betrayed and baffled by thoſe, who had their Influence upon, or betrayed the Counſels of the late King.

II. BUT this War ending at laſt in a Trea- 1640
ty begun at *Rippon*, with ſo much Advantage to the Covenanters; who, for this their *Scotch* Rebellion, were paid with *Engliſh* Money, pardon'd and careſs'd by the King and Generals, thank'd by their Party in *England*; the great Succeſs thereof gave new Encouragement to the long-deſign'd Rebellion in *Ireland* to break out, *October* 23, 1641. Which was the 1641
more confidently attempted by the Death of the great Earl of *Strafford*, then ſeaſonably deſtroy'd by the Malice of a Faction, whoſe Power and Policy was only dreadful to the *Iriſh*.

III. To obviate theſe growing Evils in *Ireland*, the Earl of *Leiceſter* was both by King and Parliament (then ſitting) agreed upon as a fit Perſon to ſucceed in the Lieutenancy of that Kingdom, after the Death of the late Earl of *Strafford*: And Forces alſo were voted to be rais'd in *England* for the War.

IV. IN this Service Lieutenant Colonel *Monk* was appointed by the Earl of *Leiceſter* to be Colonel of his own Regiment, which, with the other Forces, was not ſent

into *Ireland* for ſome while after. All thoſe Supplies were much retarded, through thoſe Jealouſies which then began to ariſe between the King and his (then long and fatal) Parliament: So that much of the Money rais'd here for carrying on the War againſt the Rebels in *Ireland* was, by the Parliament, employ'd in their own Civil War in *England*. And many of the Soldiers, at firſt liſted for *Iriſh* Service, were engaged in the Army of the Earl of *Eſſex*. But though the *Engliſh* Forces were at laſt ſent over, yet the Earl of *Leiceſter* never went to his Government, diſcouraged either by the Fate of the Earl of *Strafford*, or the ill Condition of the *Iriſh* Affairs; which the War in *England*, then in Proſpect, was like to make worſe. The Earl of *Ormond* was in the interim appointed by him Lieutenant General of the *Engliſh* Army in his Abſence, and his Commiſſion was alſo confirm'd by the King.

V. AGAINST this Rebellion, which was ſo far advanc'd before the March of the *Engliſh* Aids, Colonel *Monk* did very good Service in and about *Dublin:* Inſomuch as the Lords Juſtices thought him to be the fitteſt Man to be Governor of that City.

VI. BUT whilſt Colonel *Monk*, and thoſe other Forces in *Ireland*, were ſtrenuouſly carrying

carrying on the War againſt the Rebels there, the Civil War in *England* between the King and Parliament began, and had ſo far prevailed with ſome Advantage on the King's Side, that the Parliament began to think of calling in the Aid of the *Scots*, who, ſome while after, very readily truſſed up their Trinkets and Covenant, and in Shoals came marching into *England*, zealous for their Common Cauſe and Plunder. To balance in 1643
ſome Meaſure this foreign Aid from *Scotland*, his Majeſty was enforced, by the Counſel of Neceſſity, to aſſent to a Ceſſation with the *Iriſh* Rebels, and recall the *Engliſh* Army to his own Aſſiſtance at home, ſome whereof were landed at *Weſt-Cheſter*, others at *Briſtol*.

VII. WITH theſe Officers and Regiments Colonel *Monk*, according to his Duty, returned alſo into *England*. But at the Return of theſe Regiments the more loyal Party in the Kingdom had ſome Diſtruſt of the Earl's Officers, and particularly of Colonel *Monk*, being his own Colonel, ſo that it was ſuſpected at his Return into *England*, he would rather ſerve the Parliament than the King. At his Arrival therefore at *Briſtol*, there were Orders ſent from the Marquiſs of *Ormond*, and from the Lord *Digby*, then Secretary of State at *Oxford*, directed to the Lord *Haw-*

ley, who was then Governor of *Briſtol*, to ſecure Colonel *Monk* till further Order. Upon his Arrival the Lord *Hawley* acquainted Colonel *Monk* with the Order he had receiv'd. Colonel *Monk* repreſented to him the unjuſt and malicious Suſpicion that had been upon him; that he was return'd into *England* with no other Reſolution but to ſerve his Majeſty.

VIII. The Lord *Hawley* was ſo well acquainted with Colonel *Monk*, that he knew him to be a Perſon not only of Courage, but of Integrity and Honeſty, and that would not falſify his Word: So that inſtead of ſecuring him at *Briſtol*, his Lordſhip took his Parole to go directly to the King at *Oxford*, and ſent Letters by him to the Lord *Digby*, Secretary of State; who was ſo well ſatisfy'd concerning him, that he introduced him to his Majeſty in the Lodgings at *Chriſt-Church*.

IX. By this time Colonel *Monk*, through his long Service in the *Netherland*s War, and his Action upon the *Scots*, and now of late againſt the *Iriſh*, brought with him to *Oxford* the Reputation of an extraordinary Courage and Conduct: Inſomuch as his Majeſty then thought it worth the Time to have ſome private Conference with him, in order to the Proſecution of the War.

X. Colo-

X. COLONEL *Monk*, in his ſhort Stay at *Oxford*, had quickly obſerved the Condition of the King's Army there, that they were Men of Courage and Bravery enough, but the Diſcipline was much more remiſs than he had obſerved in the Armies abroad. Thereupon he took the Boldneſs to tell his Majeſty, that a leſs Army under greater Diſcipline, would be ſufficient to manage the War, and that the only Way to make his Army ſuperior to his Enemies was, to equal them in military Diſcipline. His Majeſty could better diſcern the Defects in his Forces than amend them at preſent; but there was ſo much Reaſon and Truth in what Colonel *Monk* had diſcours'd, that it pleas'd his *Majeſty* to command him into *Cheſter*. And becauſe upon the former Suſpicion of him, his Regiment was already given to Colonel *Warren* that had been his Major; his Majeſty was pleas'd to entruſt him with a Commiſſion to be Major General to the *Iriſh* Brigade. At his Arrival there he found the Lord *Byron*, who commanded in Chief over the *Iriſh* Regiments, had beſieged *Nantwitch*, then garriſon'd for the Parliament. To whoſe Relief Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who, for his Courage and Experience, was certainly the beſt Man at Arms in the Parliament's Service, made ſuch haſte out of *Yorkſhire*, as he wholly ſurpriz'd the *Iriſh* Brigades, raiſed

the Siege, and, among other Officers, took Colonel *Monk* Priſoner, and for the preſent ſecured him in *Hull.* The Value of this Perſon could no more be conceal'd from the Parliament than it had been from the King. His Courage againſt the *Scots*, and how roundly he had gone to work with the Rebels in *Ireland*, were too late Actions to be preſently forgot. And beſides, Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who had the Fortune to ſurprize him, and ſeveral other *Low-Country* Officers in the Parliament Service, had known him very well abroad, and made their Maſters quickly underſtand that Colonel *Monk* was a Man worth the making. The Parliament therefore (who had reſolved not haſtily to exchange him) commanded his removal from *Hull*, and ſecured him in the Tower of *London.*

XI. And here begins the paſſive Scene of this Gentleman's Life, without which Ingredient, no eminent Virtue was ever raiſed in the World. He had brought little with him into *England*, except his Sword and his Liberty, and now he has loſt both. The Parliament had provided him Houſe-room, which he would have thank'd them to have kept for themſelves; but for his other Accommodations, he was enforc'd to be his own Steward. Some while before his Confinement, and to make his Priſon the more eaſy to him, his Father, the good old Knight, Sir *Thomas*

Monk

Monk, died, 1643. leaving him, a younger Brother, (according to the Cuſtom of *England* in the beſt Families) a ſmall Annuity for his Life, which, in the Commotions of that County, at ſo great a Diſtance, was ill paid him; his elder Brother, who had the Eſtate, being on the King's Side engaged in the War, which before this Time had reach'd as far as the remoter Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwall*. By theſe Accidents he was prevented of ſeaſonable Supplies from his Relations. And his Intereſt at *Oxford* (where he made a ſhort Stay) was not ſuch that he could expect to be ſuddenly enlarged by an Exchange; there being ſo many other Officers and Perſons of Quality in the ſame Condition with himſelf, who had powerful Friends at Court, that expected to be releaſed before him. Nor was it eaſy to offer ſuch a Perſon in Exchange for him as the Parliament would be willing to accept.

XII. BUT the Character that was receiv'd of him, and thoſe ſmall Conferences he had with the King at *Oxford*, had left ſo fair an Impreſſion of him in his Majeſty's Mind, that when he could not procure Colonel *Monk*'s Liberty, he was careful to provide for his Support; and to that purpoſe there was ſecretly convey'd to him an hundred Pounds in Gold, at a Time when ſuch a Sum was a greater

greater Matter in his Majeſty's Coffers, than in many of his meaner Subjects. And this ſo ſeaſonable and indulgent Bounty of the King towards him, he has been often heard to mention with a very tender and ſenſible Gratitude.

XIII. DURING his Impriſonment in the Tower, moſt of the great Actions of the Civil War were over, and their greater Battles fought, as at *Marſton-Moor*, *Newbery*, and *Naſeby*, which made Colonel *Monk*'s Confinement ſo much the more uneaſy to him, who was in the Flower of his Age, and thirſty after Glory. But it pleaſed God, who had deſign'd him for another Purpoſe, to reſcue him from thoſe Services. Yet whilſt he was a Priſoner in the Tower he wanted not many and good Offers for his Enlargement, upon Acceptance of a Commiſſion to ſerve the Parliament; which was the Deſign of driving a Bargain with him, by ſo long and cloſe a Confinement, who yet kept up Hopes of procuring his Liberty upon better Terms, continuing ſtill to ſolicit his Exchange, by the ſmall Intereſt he had at *Oxford*. But having at laſt ſpent almoſt four Years Time in a long and tedious Confinement, through many Wants and Deſtitution of things neceſſary to his Perſon and Quality, and the impairing of his Health; and having no Hopes

or Proſpect of returning again to *Oxford*, there fell out a very ſeaſonable Opportunity for his Enlargement, upon this Occaſion.

XIV. THE Marquiſs of *Ormond*, (who at first was appointed Lieutenant General in the Abſence of the Earl of *Leiceſter*) declaring wholly for the King in *Ireland*, without any Regard to the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, ſo far diſpleas'd them, that they voted the Lord *Liſle*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, to take the Government of that Kingdom. His Lordſhip preſently thinks upon his Kinſman, Colonel *Monk*, in the Tower, and offers him a Commiſſion under him. He had been (as we related before) Colonel to the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s own Regiment in *Ireland*, and therefore was the more willing to take the ſame Commiſſion from his Son. Beſides, he had been particularly oblig'd to that Family, for ſome ſeaſonable Kindneſs and Supply, during his late Impriſonment in the Tower. In this War he had been engaged before, and it was very agreeable to his Principles and Conſcience. The King alſo and Parliament, who at this time could agree in nothing elſe, did jointly vote the *Iriſh* then in Arms, to be Rebels. And Colonel *Monk* having receiv'd his Liberty for this Service, was too generous to employ it to any other Uſe. But before he quitted the Tower, he took Leave 1646

of

of ſeveral of his Fellow-Priſoners, with whom he was acquainted, and, among the reſt, of the Biſhop of *Ely*, Dr. *Wren*, from whom he requeſted his epiſcopal Bleſſing; telling him, he was now going to do the King the beſt Service he could againſt the Rebels in *Ireland*, and hoped he ſhould one Day do him further Service in *England*. All which, with the Circumſtances of it, has been ſeveral times atteſted by that Reverend and Pious Prelate, in the hearing of many great and illuſtrious Perſons. Upon this he readily attended the Lord *Liſle*, who on the 28th of *January* ſet out from *London* towards *Ireland*. His Lordſhip was ordered to land at *Dublin*, but the Marquiſs of *Ormond* having received no Command from his Majeſty, to deliver up the City to him, could not give him Admiſſion. Thereupon the Lord *Liſle* and his Forces made their Way into *Munſter*, and landed near *Cork*. Very little was done by this Voyage of the Lord *Liſle* into *Ireland*. So that after two Months Stay in the Country, his Commiſſion being expired, he ſet Sail *April* 17, and returned again into *England*, and Colonel *Monk* with him, who
1647 then was above 38 Years of Age.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

I. *He is commiſſion'd to go again into the North of* Ireland, *againſt thoſe Rebels. The Difficulties he ſurmounted in this Province.* II. *A remarkable Inſtance of his Frugality, and provident Care towards the Support of his Soldiers.* III. *Upon what Reaſons he concluded a Peace with* O Neal; *after which he returned into* England. IV. *It was ſuſpected that he had expreſs Commands from* England *to conclude that Peace.* V. *The Murther of the King.* VI. *The General, in his Return to* England, *meets* Cromwel *then going Lord Lieutenant to* Ireland. VII. *His elder Brother dies.* VIII. *He is out of all Employment.* IX. *A new Occaſion of his entring upon Action.* X. Cromwel, *upon the Lord* Fairfax's *Refuſal of that Employment, is made Commander in Chief againſt the* Scots; *who makes* Monk *Lieutenant General of the Ordnance.* XI. *The great Confidence that* Cromwel *repoſed in him, and upon what Grounds.* XII. *Animadverſions on the* Scotch *Clergy, and the Death of the Marquiſs of* Montroſs. XIII. *A Miſconduct of* Cromwel, *and the Error of it retrieved by General* Monk, *by which Means the* Scots *were defeated at* Dunbar. XIV. *The good Effects of this Victory, tho'*

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in ſome Meaſure obſtructed by the Remonſtrators. XV. *The King with the* Scotch *Army goes to* Worceſter, *and is purſued by* Cromwel, *who had left General* Monk *to reduce* Scotland. *His great Succeſs there.* XVI. *He returns ſick into* England. XVII. *An Act of Coalition to unite* England *and* Scotland *into one Commonwealth.* XVIII. *An Union of this kind had been projected by King* James, *at which the* Scots *were much diſcontented, and for what Reaſons.* XIX. *General* Monk *appointed one of the Commiſſioners for concluding this Coalition.*

I. AT his Return Colonel *Monk* having diſcovered his Inclination rather to ſerve the Parliament in *Ireland*, than in any other Employment, ſome of the Members of Parliament knowing his Averſeneſs to be employed in the Civil Wars at home, and all knowing him for his Courage and exact Diſcipline, a moſt fit Perſon for the *Iriſh* Service, they offered him a Commiſſion to command the *Britiſh* Forces in the North of *Ireland*, which he accepts; and now takes his third Voyage into that Kingdom. In this Command he had a very nice and difficult Province: For the *Scotch* under *Monroe*, and the *Engliſh*, though conjoin'd together, did not perfectly agree or truſt each other; yet he

he kept them both in ſo good Order, as he effectually proſecuted the War. Much of his Buſineſs was againſt *Owen Roe O Neal*, a bold and reſtleſs Rebel, and accounted the beſt Soldier among them, having many Years ſerved the King of *Spain*, and who had trained up the Forces under his Command, to a Courage and Reſolution beyond the uſual Temper of the *Iriſh*: Yet Colonel *Monk* look'd ſo narrowly after all his Goings, and kept him ſo ſhort of Proviſion as made him weary of the War.

II. THIS was but a dry and barren Employment, and the Parliament at *Weſtminſter* had too many Irons in the Fire, to take any Care of Money or Proviſion for an Army in the North of *Ireland*. But Colonel *Monk*, who was not only a good Soldier, but a good Husband alſo, ſo ordered the Tillage and Improvement of the Country, and providently diſpoſed of all Booties taken from the Enemy, that he made the War ſupport it ſelf without much Relief from *England*.

III. ALL Things, through his Induſtry and Conduct, had ſucceeded ſo well in the North of *Ireland*, that the Parliament thought the *Scotch* Forces unneceſſary in *Ulſter*, and voted their Diſcharge home, which gave Occaſion to ſome Jealouſies and Diſcontents be-

tween the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Soldiers, inſo-much that Colonel *Monk* ſuſpected *Monroe*, and the other *Scotch* Officers, to have ſome Deſign upon his Perſon and Liberty. At the ſame Time the Marquiſs of *Ormond*, the Lord *Inchequin*, and divers others, coming to an Agreement, a great Part of Colonel *Monk*'s Forces revolted from him at *Dundalke*; ſo that he was beſet with ſo many Difficulties, as enforced him to cloſe up an
1649 haſty Pacification with *O Neal*, and to return into *England*.

IV. But this Action, being of ſo tranſcendent a Nature, gave Occaſion to many conſidering Perſons to believe that Colonel *Monk*, being a Perſon of ſo much Honour and Courage, would not, by any Neceſſity whatſoever, have been brought to ſuch an Agreement, if he had not been particularly commanded to it by his Superiors in *England*, who, being reſolv'd to fall upon the Royal Party in *Ireland*, made no Scruple to clap up a Peace with the Rebels.

V. Somewhat before this, during Colonel *Monk*'s Employment in *Ireland*, was committed the execrable Murder upon the Perſon of the late King; an Action of ſo great Impudence and Villany, as can find no Parallel in paſt Ages, and the ſucceeding will as hardly

hardly believe it. And here let me arreſt my Reader with the Contemplation of the divine Wiſdom, which had deſigned this Colonel *Monk* to be the Reſtorer of Monarchy, and his preſent Majeſty; that he ſhould at this Time, though he ſerved the Party, be diſpoſed of in an Employment of ſo much Diſtance and Privacy, as he could hardly know, much leſs be concern'd in, ſo great a Guilt, as was the Murther of that excellent King.

VI. IN his Return home he met Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, then haſtening to conſummate the *Iriſh* War, with five Regiments of Horſe, and ſeven of Foot. This Ceſſation with *O Neal* did greatly facilitate *Cromwel's* Buſineſs, who, in leſs than a Year's Time, finiſhed that War, and then haſten'd back into *England* to proſecute the other high Deſigns of his Ambition.

VII. ABOUT this Time his elder Brother *Thomas Monk*, Eſq; dy'd by a Fall from his Horſe, leaving only two Daughters behind him; and the Eſtate being ſettled upon the Iſſue-Male, it came to Colonel *Monk* as now Heir in Tail: who, as he had raiſed his Name and Family to the higher State of Nobility and Honour, ſo he accordingly repaired the Ruins of the Family, and advanc-

ed it to a Condition ſuitable to ſupport the Greatneſs of its Quality.

VIII. COLONEL *Monk*, after his Return out of *Ireland*, was now out of all Employment, and very well contented to have continued ſo; but a new War at hand brought him again into Action.

IX. AFTER the Death of the late King, the *Scots* had enter'd into a Treaty with his preſent Majeſty, for reſtoring him to his
1650 Kingdom of *Scotland*, which this Year came to a Concluſion; but upon ſuch Terms as *Goths* and *Vandals* would have been aſhamed to offer to an hereditary Prince. There was then in *Scotland* a very honeſt and loyal Party, that were deſirous to reſtore him upon Conditions agreeable to their Allegiance and Duty. But the Covenanters, who were much the greater Number, having formerly made ſo good a Bargain by the Sale of his Father, were now driving another, almoſt as advantagious to them, with the Son. His landing and Reception in *Scotland* gave a ſmart Alarm to the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*. They eaſily foreſaw a War would enſue, and therefore thought it moſt agreeable to their Gallantry and Puiſſance to be the Aggreſſors. Whereupon they voted their Army to march Northward, and invade *Scotland*.

land. And Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, having done his Buſineſs in reducing *Ireland*, was return'd to *London* as ſeaſonably as if he had contrived it. Both he and his Party were deſirous, that he might command as General in this Northern Expedition, and ſo conſummate the Circle of his Glories, by the Conqueſt of *Scotland*. The Noiſe of a Bruſh with the *Scots* alarm'd all the *Presbyterian* Party, and their Clergy, in *England*, who own'd themſelves obliged, by their ſolemn League, not to enter into War with their covenanted Brethren. And ſome of them, who had a great Aſcendant over the Lord *Fairfax*, and alſo on his Lady, had ſo practiſed upon both their Conſciences, that he willingly diſabled himſelf for this Service. This Advantage was quickly diſcern'd, if not at firſt contriv'd, by *Cromwel* and his Party, who laugh'd in their Sleeves at the conſcientious Qualms of the Presbyterians. And this Scruple of the Lord *Fairfax* was farther promoted in him, by the Fineneſs of ſome of the demure Independents in the Houſe of Commons, that were in *Cromwel's* Intereſt. So that in the Concluſion the Matter was ſo decently carry'd, that *Cromwel* was voted to the ſole Command againſt the *Scots*.

X. HAVING gain'd the Authority he ſo long affected, his next Care was for modelling

his Army, which indeed was made up of the Flower of the *Engliſh* Forces. About this time he had taken a particular Notice of Colonel *Monk*; and obſerving how with ſmall Force he had managed his Buſineſs upon the Rebels in *Ireland*, he found him an abler Officer for the *Scotch* War, than many of his own inſpired Colonels. And becauſe he would by no means want his Company, he furniſhed him with an extempore Regiment drawn out of ſeveral others, and afterwards made him Lieutenant General of the Ordnance. Beſides the Importunities of *Cromwel*, which could not ſafely be deny'd, there are two things which ſeem the more to have inclined Colonel *Monk* to this War: One was a kind of Indignation and Prejudice ſettled in him againſt the Nation, ever ſince their Rebellion and Inſolencies againſt *Charles* the Firſt, in which War he had been employed. The other was the Perfidy and ill Uſage he had met with from the *Scots*, when he commanded them lately in the North of *Ireland*.

XI. To this *Scotch* Expedition he ſeem'd to be deſign'd by the ſecret Fate that governed him. For by his extraordinary Conduct and Prudence in this War, he gain'd ſo upon *Cromwel*, as to be thought the only fit Perſon to be truſted with the ſole Command of the Country. By which Station he became

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at laſt capable of doing thoſe great and happy things which we are afterwards to relate.

XII. THE *Scots* might very well have expected this Invaſion from *England*, where a great Army was always in Readineſs: But their Counſels were chiefly governed by their loud and bellowing Clergy, with ſome other Male-contents, obtruding every Day new and inſolent Conditions upon his Majeſty, accuſing and diſtinguiſhing Malignants, and an infinite Number of wild and endleſs Babble about their Covenant; ſo that *Cromwel* was very far advanc'd towards them, before they had brought their Army into any good Readineſs. And to fill up the Meaſure of their Villanies with the Slavery of the Nation, the Year before they had maliciouſly made away the great and valiant Marquiſs of *Montroſs*, who was accounted the beſt Man of Arms their Nation ever bred; whoſe Courage and Conduct, had he been alive and entruſted, was more than *Cromwel*'s Match, and might have ſav'd their Nation.

XIII. GENERAL *Cromwel* being advanced as far as *Berwick*, kept on his Way towards *Edenburgh*, and finding the *Scots* not willing to come to a Fight, traverſed his Ground back again towards *Dunbar*, the *Scotch* Army preſſing ſomewhat hard upon his Rear.

Here he had run himſelf into ſuch a Nooſe, for all the Cantings and *Magnificats* of his Party, as did greatly blemiſh his Diſcretion. The *Scots* were Maſters of the Hill, and had coop'd the *Engliſh* Army into a narrow Neck of Land, the Sea behind them, and no Way for Retreat but by the Paſs at *Coppeſmyth*, then ſtrongly poſſeſſed by the *Scots*. Now would *Cromwel* have willingly exchang'd his Command with *Fairfax*, to have been ſafe in his Room at *London*. But here the Experience and Conduct of Lieutenant General *Monk* help'd him at the dead Lift. For at a Council of War he moved, to make a preſent Aſſault upon the Enemy, when never an Officer there had the Courage to think of it; and undertook the Charge himſelf, with ſuch Succeſs, as ended in an entire Victory. Unleſs *Cromwel* had ſecretly corrupted the Officers of the *Scotch* Army, or thoſe Covenanters had been the arranteſt Cowards in Nature, they could not have been ſo ſhamefully routed, being almoſt double in Number to their Enemies, and poſſeſſed of ſuch great Advantages upon them. But by the Fortune of this Day, the Covenant was moſt miſerably batter'd by the *Lord of Hoſts*, which was the Word given in the ſeveral Armies before the Fight began.

XIV. The

XIV. THE loyal Party in *Scotland* was not greatly concern'd for this Defeat at *Dunbar*, which had chiefly cut off ſo many of the violent Kirk Party, that might well be ſpared. But it had alſo a farther Effect upon the reſt; for it took down the Heat of the Covenanters, that they came at laſt to a calm Reſolution of admitting all Parties, and that ſince they had been brought to thoſe Streights by the Loſs of *Dunbar*, it was neceſſary, for Defence of the Cauſe of God and the Kirk, to take in the Aſſiſtance of ſuch as had ſerv'd the late King, and ſuch alſo as had been in Duke *Hamilton*'s Army. This was the Reſolution of the greater Part of the *Scots*; but was remonſtrated againſt, as a betraying the Intereſt of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and his Kirk, by a more refined ſort of whining Hypocrites: And theſe were called the *Remonſtrators*. Which Schiſm of the Reſolutioners and Remonſtrators became as natural and malicious among them, as between the *Jew* and *Samaritan* of old, or the late *Guelfs* and *Gibellins*.

XV. BUT by this Reſolution, and that which ſucceeded it, his Majeſty came the next Year to have an Army which he could 1651
better govern, and were more obedient to the Methods he had deſigned. Which, taking

Advantage of *Cromwel's* Army being paſs'd over the *Frith* into *Fife*, he gave them the Go-by, and ſlipt into *England* by the Way of *Carliſle*, and was purſued to *Worceſter* by the Body of *Cromwel's* Army, who had left Lieutenant General *Monk* with ſix thouſand Men, to perfect the Reduction of *Scotland*. Whether Lieutenant General *Monk* had deſired this Province, of following the War in that Country, or his uſual good Fortune had ſo far befriended him, as to reſcue him from an Employment he ſo much diſliked, *viz.* of fighting in *England*, we cannot abſolutely determine. But after that *Cromwel* was marched after the King into *England*, he ſo warmly proſecuted the *Scots*, that after the taking of *Edenburgh* Caſtle, the Surrender of *Tantallon* Caſtle, the Rendition of *Sterling*, and the ſurprizing of *Dundee*, with ſeveral other conſiderable Places, yielding preſently to the Fortune of the Victor: Such was Lieutenant General *Monk's* Diſpatch, that he had gain'd a great Part of *Scotland*, by that Time *Cromwel* had fully done his Buſineſs at *Worceſter*.

XVI. But in this Summer's Expedition, Lieutenant General *Monk*, (either as an Allay to his Succeſs, or as a Chaſtiſement upon him for ſerving under ſuch Confederates) fell into a violent Sickneſs, which held him all the Winter,

Winter, and reduc'd him to that Weakneſs, that he was enforc'd to return'd into *England* for Repair of his Health; and the following Summer he recover'd it at the *Bath*.

XVII. AND at his Return thence to *London*, he found the Parliament, having now conquered *Scotland*, reſolved to extirpate Monarchy among the *Scots*; and, to ſecure their Subjection, they had framed an Act of Coalition, whereby both Nations ſhould be united into one Commonwealth. 1652

XVIII. A Deſign at which King *James* was aiming, when he altered the Royal Style, and proclaimed himſelf King of *Great Britain*. Great were the Diſcontents in *Scotland* about this Union. The loyal Party utterly declined it, in Hopes of ſome more fortunate Seaſon ro reſtore Monarchy. And the covenanting Presbyterians equally railed againſt it. They had already obſerved the Declenſion of their Presbyterian Government here in *England*, and were greatly afraid, as Independency had already conquered their Country, ſo it would extirpate their Religion.

XIX. To ſettle this Union of both Nations, Commiſſioners were ſent down, that were cunning old Grandees of the Party, and

of

of the Independent Intereſt. To whom Lieutenant General *Monk*, being thought to have better Knowledge of them, and Intereſt among them, by his late Command there, was alſo added: Who, though he had conquered the Nation, yet had been ſo fair and ſo honourable an Enemy, as they were perſuaded to an Union by him, more than by all the Tricks and Artifices of the reſt. And having at laſt ſettled the Coalition according to their Inſtructions, both he and they return'd to *London*.

CHAP. IV.

I. *The Power and Pride of the Parliament incline them to a War with the* Dutch. II. Blake *made Admiral, who gains ſome Advantages over them.* III. *The next Year* Dean *and* Monk *are made Admirals, equal in Commiſſion.* IV. *The Zeal of the Parliament in proſecuting this War; whom, notwithſtanding,* Cromwel *diſſolves, and erects a Council of State, to which the Direction of military Affairs was committed.* V. *An Engagement between the two Fleets on the Coaſt of* Flanders, *wherein* Dean *is killed. The Preſence of Mind, Bravery, and Conduct of* Monk

Monk *in that Action. He purſues the* Dutch, *and the next Day ſinks ſix, and takes eleven of their Ships.* VI. *The* Dutch *repair their Fleet, and the next Month the* Engliſh *Fleet engaged them a third time; in which Engagement thirty of their Ships were ſunk, their Vice-Admiral* Everſton, *and their Admiral* Van Trump, *killed by a ſmall Shot.* VII. *The ſurpriſing Succeſs of this Action; upon which the States found themſelves obliged to ſue for Peace, with the Conditions to which they were forced to ſubmit.*

I. NOW was the Juncto Parliament at *Weſtminſter* come to the Meridian of their Power and Uſurpation, from which they quickly after declined. They had reduc'd *Ireland*, conquer'd *Scotland*, and utterly baffled the King's Intereſt in *England*; which rais'd them to that Height of Pride and Confidence, that now they were reſolved to reckon with their Neighbours, the States of *Holland*, for certain Inſolencies they had ſuſtained from them. Hitherto they had diſſembled their Reſentments for the Death of *Doriſlaus*, who went to complement the *Dutch* to an Alliance to their new Commonwealth; and alſo the Affronts that were put upon their extraordinary Ambaſſadors, *Saint-*

John

John and *Strickland*. Neither wanted there Complaints about Trade, which they deſigned to reduce by an Act for Encouragement of Navigation; ſucceeded with ſuch high Demands upon the *Dutch* for Reparation of Injuries, and of ſettling a free Trade, *&c.* as the States were reſolved to enter into a War, rather than make ſo hard a Bargain for their Peace. The Honour and Eſteem of the *Engliſh* Nation was at this Time utterly loſt abroad, by the bold and inſolent Actions of the Commonwealth Parliament, and the aſtoniſhing Murther of the late King; ſo that the *Dutch* ſomewhat ſcorn'd to be firſt in making Alliance with ſo infamous a People, and did alſo equally deſpiſe them. Nor did they greatly like, that a Revolt from their natural Prince ſhould thrive in other Hands, ſo much as it had done in their own. The *Dutch* very well remember'd, the Kings of *England*, looking on them as a trading People, had never ſeverely inſpected or ſtated things with them, in Matters of Profit. But now they were to deal with a coarſe and ſcraping ſort of People, that would upon occaſion be quarrelling with them for their Penny, and look to their Trade with as much Concern as themſelves. After a great deal of religious Tampering on both Sides, they fell at laſt to Blows.

II. On

II. ON the first Year of this War, it was 1652
managed on the Junto's Side by their Admiral *Blake*, who, in a Fight near the *Goodwin* Sands, and afterwards near *Portland*, worsted the *Dutch* Fleet.

III. AGAINST the next Year, they had 1653
ordered General *Monk* and General *Dean*, being join'd in equal Commission, to carry on the War. This was something an odd Province for General *Monk*, who had all his Life commanded in Land Service, now in the 45th Year of his Age, to take up a new kind of Warfare at Sea. But as all Countries are alike to a wise Man, so are all Elements to the valiant.

IV. THE Parliament was very busy in hastening their Preparations for this War; and were so intent upon their Enemies abroad, that they overlook'd greater at home. For on *April* 23. *Oliver Cromwel*, whose Ambition could hold no longer, enter'd the House of Commons, accompanied with some of his Officers, and dissolv'd the Parliament, after their twelve Years Continuance in the Practice of such Mischiefs and Depredations, as are not easy to be recounted. But though the Parliament was at an End, the *Dutch* War went on, being managed for the present

by a Council of State, made up of ſome principal Officers in the Army, and ſome Members of the late Juncto, that were *Cromwel's* Confederates.

V. The firſt Engagement this Year was *June* the 2d, on the Coaſt of *Flanders*; the *Dutch* Fleet commanded by *Van Trump*, the Vice-Admiral *Van de Ruyter*, the two *Evertſons*, and *De Witt*; and their Number of Ships much the greater. The *Engliſh* was led by General *Monk* and *Dean*, having *Jordan*, *Lawſon*, *Goodſon* with them. The Fight began very early in the Morning. At the firſt Shot from the *Dutch* Fleet *Dean* was kill'd, walking by the Side of General *Monk*; who at his Fall (nothing diſcompoſed in his Mind or Looks) caſt his Cloak over him, and afterwards ordered him to be carried into his Cabbin, commanding the Soldiers and Seamen to look to the Ship, and follow their Buſineſs. By ten of the Clock the Fight grew very ſharp, eſpecially between the Squadron commanded by *de Ruyter* and the Blue Squadron led by *Lawſon*. To the Relief of the firſt *Van Trump* came in, and General *Monk* in excellent Order ſailed to reinforce the other, ſo that now the Fight became very hot on both Sides, till three in the Afternoon, about which Time the Wind favouring the *Dutch*, they bore away before

it, being purſued till Night by General *Monk*: Who, the next Morning, found himſelf nearer than he imagined to the Enemy's Fleet. Yet he could not get up to them till towards Noon, and then both Fleets engaged till ten at Night: The Wind being freſh and Weſterly, General *Monk* preſſed hard upon them, and ſunk ſix of their beſt Ships, and two more of the *Dutch* were, through Misfortune, blown up by their own Fleet. Eleven Ships were taken that Day from the Enemy, the reſt were ſecured, by *Van Trump*, running upon the Flats at *Dunkirk*.

VI. AFTER this Fight General *Monk* lay upon the *Dutch* Coaſts, ſurpriſing ſeveral of their Ships, and diſturbing their Trade, till foul Weather drave him off their Shoars. In leſs than two Months time the *Dutch* had got together a very great Fleet of about one hundred twenty five Sail, which was the laſt Effort of their Strength and Courage. And *July* 29. both Fleets came in View of each other. General *Monk* had not above ninety odd Sail of Ships, which were all a Stern, ſo that till towards Evening they could not get up to come to any Engagement, which began with ſome of the lighter Frigats, and encreaſed to about thirty, and fought till the Night parted them. This was but the Prelude to the next Day's Work: For on the next Morning

Morning early General *Monk* tack'd upon the Enemy, and a moſt fierce and bloody Fight began on all Hands, which continued till about three in the Afternoon. In this Battel the General, being much inferior to the Enemy in Number, had commanded the Captains to attempt to deſtroy or ſink what Ships they could, without taking of any, whereby he ſhould be oblig'd to weaken his Fleet, through the Abſence of thoſe that muſt go off with them. In this Fight were ſunk of the *Dutch* Fleet near thirty Ships, among which was Vice-Admiral *Evertſon*, with the Loſs only of one *Engliſh* Frigat. And to conſummate the Fortune and Glory of this new Admiral, in this Fight fell the brave and aged Seaman *Van Trump*, famous for many Victories, and accounted one of the beſt Seamen of this Age: He was kill'd by a ſmall Shot, and dy'd like an Admiral, with his Sword in his Hand, as he was ſtanding on the Deck of his Ship, encouraging his Men to the Fight. The Loſs of ſo many Ships, with the Fall of their chief Commander, ſo diſcouraged the *Dutch* Fleet, that they preſently made all the Sail they could, and run into the *Texel*.

VII. They who were at Leiſure to conſider the Circumſtances of this Fight, have wondered at the Succeſs of it. The *Dutch* had

had much the Odds in Number, their Ships and Men freſh; the Fight upon their Coaſts; they had alſo Fire-Ships with them, and the *Engliſh* none. The Loſs of their beſt Commander, and of ſo great a Part of their Fleet, put the States of *Holland* into ſuch Apprehenſions, and their common People into ſuch Diſorders, as they haſten'd back their Ambaſſadors, who were newly return'd home for further Inſtructions, to make ſuch a Peace with the *Engliſh* as they could get. But the Council of State held them to hard Meat. They would abate nothing of their laſt Demands, made for the Common-wealth Parliament. Nothing would do except, beſide ſtriking the Flag, they made a Recognition of the *Engliſh* Sovereignty to the Narrow Seas, a Rent to be paid for the Fiſhery, the Trade in the *Indies* to be free, and Satisfaction for all Merchants Loſſes, and Reparation for the Charge of the War, and a Coalition of both Nations, to the excluding the Prince of *Orange* from any Place of Government. Great was the religious Knavery and Falſhood on both Sides, and the *Dutch* had already learnt to cant and wheadle in the Gibberiſh of the *Engliſh* Sectaries.

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CHAP. V.

I. *The little Parliament at* Weſtminſter, *and their fanatical Projects of incorporating the ſeven Provinces.* II. *The* Dutch *Commiſſioners at a Loſs how to treat with Men, whoſe Schemes and Principles appeared ſo very chimerical. The Deſign which* Cromwel *had to ſerve by them.* III. *Having laid them aſide, he takes the Government upon himſelf, with the Title of* Protector; *makes ſeveral Condeſcenſions to the* Dutch *Commiſſioners, towards the more effectual Seclusion of the Houſe of* Orange *from the Power and Dignity of Stadholder.* IV. *The Articles on both Sides in Reference to this Point.* V. *The States General aſhamed of it, yet, by the Advice of* De Witt, *they at laſt agree to it, as a ſecret Article, but without the Conſent of the other Provinces. Upon which a Peace is concluded between* England *and* Holland, *wherein* Cromwel *ſacrifices the publick Intereſt to the private End of his Malice and Ambition.* VI. *This Agreement oppoſed by General* Monk, *but to no Effect.* VII. *An Army raiſed in* Scotland *for the Service of the King, and by what Means their Deſign was fruſtrated.* VIII. *Yet* Cromwel, *anxious for the Succeſs of it, and ſuſpecting* Lilbourn's *Courage,*

who

who commanded the Engliſh *Forces there, recals General* Monk *for the* Scottiſh *Expedition.* IX. *General* Monk *envied. His cautious and prudent Behaviour. His great Affection for his Country.* X. *A ſpecial Reaſon of* Cromwel's *employing him in this Expedition, from whence he returns no more, till he is made the happy Inſtrument of the Reſtoration.* XI. *The State of* Scotland *upon his Arrival there. The Uſe he made of their extravagant Diſputes and Diſorders about Religion.*

I. WHILST this *Dutch* War and Treaty were carrying on, that pretty Machine, called the *Little Parliament*, was ſitting at *Weſtminſter*. A ſort of little inſipid Fops, whom *Cromwel* had ſet up, to make his laſt Step into the Government the eaſier. Many of theſe were ſettling a Kingdom only for *Jeſus Chriſt* in the World, but yet ſo as to make themſelves his Vicegerents. They look'd upon the *Dutch* as a Company of cheating, covetous Worldlings, and Enemies to the Kingdom of *Chriſt*, as well as that of *England*, ſo that nothing would ſatisfy them leſs than a Coalition, whereby the Seven Provinces ſhould be incorporated into this their *Fifth-Monarchy*.

II. The ſolemn and formal Ambaſſadors were at ſome Loſs how to deal with this frantick Sort of People, whom they thought a Society fitter for *Bedlam*, than a Conclave of Senators; and had look'd ſo far into the State of Things, and the ambitious Inclinations of *Cromwel*, that they cunningly inſinuated, if he would aſſume the Government himſelf, they ſhould be more ready to a Compliance with him. Theſe People were certainly call'd together by *Cromwel* only for a while, to ſhew Tricks to the People, and play the Fool with the Government, that thereby the Nation might be as willing as himſelf to have the Reins taken into a more ſteady Hand.

III. The Reſignation of this Parliament's Power was quickly after contrived; and on *December* 16. he uſurp'd the Government, with the Title of *Protector*. Being now more concern'd to provide for his own Settlement, by looking after his Enemies at home, than to proſecute a War abroad; and that he might gain entirely the Article for Seclusion of the Houſe of *Orange* from Stadholder-General, or Admiral, and no Entertainment to be given to any of his Enemies in their Dominions; he was willing to deal very indulgently with them in the reſt of the Particulars. And therefore he accepted the Article for ſtriking

ſtriking the Flag, without a Recognition of the Title. Inſtead of a Coalition, a defenſive Alliance ſerved the Turn. The Fiſhing paſs'd without either Leaſe or Rent; and the Merchants, for their free Trade, and Satisfaction for Damages, were wholly left in the Lurch.

IV. IT were tedious to relate all the Tricks and Artifices that paſſed between the Protector and theſe Ambaſſadors, about the Article of Seclusion.

V. THERE was ſo much Baſeneſs and Ingratitude in the Thing it ſelf, that both the States General and their Agents were utterly aſhamed of it: Inſomuch that the Protector at laſt was contented to accept it in the Quality of a ſecret Article, but without it refuſed to exchange the Ratifications. At laſt the States of the Province of *Holland* and *Weſt-Freezland*, guided by the Counſels of the late Penſioner *De Witt*, and without the Concurrence of the other Provinces, ſigned this ſecret Article: That they would never elect his preſent Highneſs, nor any of his Lineage, to be Stadholder or Admiral of their Province: Neither ſhould their Province give their Suffrage or Conſent, that he, or any of his Family, ſhould be Captain General of the Forces of the *United Provinces*. This being ſent over to the Ambaſſadors, and by

them delivered to *Cromwel*, the Peace was preſently and finally concluded, and the three hundred thouſand Pounds, which they offer'd the Year before to the Commonwealth Parliament, was alſo thought to have been caſt into the Scales, being a ſeaſonable Preſent to *Cromwel*, wherewith to ſupport himſelf in the Infancy of his Power and Greatneſs. And thus (as an Eſſay of his future Government) he abandon'd the Concerns of the Nation, and all the Advantages of this War, to the Intereſt of his own ſecret Malice and Ambition.

VI. GENERAL *Monk* (whoſe Hiſtory we have been forc'd to interrupt by this neceſſary Digreſſion) was, during this Treaty, lying upon the *Dutch* Coaſts, blocking up their Havens, and interrupting their Trade, and did all he could to hinder this Agreement. He exclaim'd againſt it, as a thing infamous and diſhonourable to the Nation. He repreſented to them, that the *Dutch* could not be able to fight another Battle; and that they had never an Ally in the World, that would be concern'd for them. But all he could do was only to remonſtrate againſt it. The time was not yet come for General *Monk*, by his own Authority, to govern the great Concerns of the Nation, nor to put an End to Uſurpation and Tyranny.

VII. THE

VII. THE Protector *Cromwel* had no ſooner concluded the *Dutch* War, but another begun to be formed againſt him in *Scotland*. The Marquiſs of *Athol*, the Earl of *Glencarn*, and ſeveral of the Nobility, having declared for the King, had raiſed an Army in *Sotland*, conſiſting of about eight or nine thouſand Men, headed and commanded by Officers of the principal of the Nobility and Gentry of the Nation, to which ſome Force out of *Holland*, by *Middleton*, was to be added: Who, though he came from his Majeſty with a Commiſſion to be General of the Army which the Nobility had raiſed, did yet diſoblige them, and afterwards the withdrawing and dividing the Forces, did fruſtrate the greater Part of the Attempt.

VIII. THIS Inſurrection in *Scotland* being in the Morning of his Uſurpation, did greatly diſquiet his Protectorſhip (who could better diſſemble his Hatred than his Fears) not knowing how far it might ſuddenly prevail in a Nation reſtleſs and diſſatisfied at the late Coalition, and that were watching upon all Occaſions, to recover again the Loſs of their Reputation, with the Liberty of their Country. Since the Removal of General *Monk* out of *Scotland*, Colonel *Dean* commanded in Chief there; and being afterwards called

off by the Juncto to be the Admiral in the *Dutch* War, Colonel *Lilbourn* was entruſted with the Government of the Country, and the *Engliſh* Forces there. Him *Cromwel* thought a Perſon of too little Courage to be truſted at this time with ſo ſtrong and tough an Employment. Beſides, he had already diſcovered his own Weakneſs and Fears, by repreſenting the Buſineſs to the Protector worſe than indeed it was: And was ſo at his Wit's End, that he dared not look out of his Quarters. This made *Cromwel* more ſolicitous, not only about the Deſign it ſelf, but the Choice of a Perſon fit to be employed. And the Command of ſo large and conſiderable a Country was not to be diſpoſed of at Adventures. By his aſſuming the Government in the Quality of a ſingle Perſon, he had diſpleas'd ſeveral of his ſtouteſt Officers, that were for a free Commonwealth, and therefore was reſolv'd not to employ them further. Among his own Relations (whom he could beſt have truſted) there was not a Perſon fit for this Service. Some of his Council propos'd his Brother-in-Law, *Desborow*; but *Cromwel* better underſtood the Man, and knew him to be a coarſe and boiſterous Clown, that wanted Senſe and Diſcretion. *Fleetwood* was as unfit as the reſt of them. And for *Lambert*, he reſolv'd not to truſt him ſo far out of his Sight. The only ſuit-

able

able Perſon for this *Scotch* Expedition, was General *Monk*, who had reduc'd the Country before, and who beſt knew how to handle the *Scots*.

IX. HIS Reputation at Arms was grown equal with any of the reſt of the *Engliſh* Commanders, and by his Succeſs in the laſt *Dutch* War was become their Superior: So that ſeveral of them began to emulate and ſuſpect his Greatneſs. He was unluckily caſt among theſe People, rather by his ill Fate, than any Choice of his own; but was ſtill eſpecially careful to keep himſelf from their greater Guilts and Hypocriſy. He would never be concern'd in any of their more ſecret Intrigues or Cabals, never pretended to their Frenzies of Preaching or Praying, nor to any of their Revelations or Impulſes. But as a ſtout and valiant *Engliſhman*, he loved his Country, and ſtill hoped for ſome better Seaſon to expreſs it.

X. WHATEVER was ſuggeſted, ſo ſoon as the Protector found, by Conference with General *Monk*, that he was no ways diſſatisfy'd with his diſſolving the late Commonwealth Parliament, and that he had no Concern for that Intereſt, he preſently entruſted him with the Command of *Scotland*. And becauſe all things then run into greater Diſorder, he was haſten'd

haſten'd away to his Province, taking his Leave of *Cromwel*, whom he never ſaw more, nor ſet his Foot again in *England*, till he brought back with him the Redemption and Deliverance of his Country.

XI. At his Arrival in *Scotland*, about the 23d of *April*, he found all things in Diſorder; a querulous, diſcontented People: an ungovern'd Army, fill'd with all Sorts of violent Fanaticks and Anabaptiſts, which was the Religion of Colonel *Lilbourn*, their Governor; and they had crouded and juſtled the Presbyterian Clergy out of their Kirks and Pulpits, and expos'd their Diſcipline to Ridicule. But General *Monk*, who was too wary to be concern'd in any of their religious Diſputes and Extravagancies, quickly found them ſome other kind of Employment for their Diverſion. And having ſettled ſome neceſſary Affairs in *Edenburgh*, he preſently draws out his Army, and marches them up into the Highlands, where he kept them ſo cloſe to their Work as abated ſome of their religious Madneſs.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

I. *The Earl of* Middleton *under great Difficulties in the* Highlands; *whither General* Monk, *with Major General* Morgan, *marches after him.* II. *The Earl holds a Council of War, and determines not to engage the General's Forces.* III. Cromwel *ſecretly promiſes the* Scotch *Nobility and Gentry their Pardon, upon their Submiſſion, which they ſeem willing to make.* IV. *Some of General* Monk's *Officers are for compelling them to a Battle, but the General is againſt it.* V. *Major General* Morgan *defeats a Party of the* Scotch *at* Loughgerry; *upon which the Earl of* Middleton *eſcapes to* Holland, *and his Forces lay down their Arms.* VI. *General* Monk *hires* Dalkeith-*Houſe, where he keeps his Head-Quarters, during his Stay in that Country.* VII. *He Regulates the Civil and Religious Affairs of* Scotland, *and reſtrains the Power of the Kirk.*

I. THE Citadel, Forts, and Caſtles, and all Places of Strength in *Scotland*, being already poſſeſſed by the *Engliſh* Forces; the Earl of *Middleton*, having no Garriſon or Retreat for his Army, defended himſelf in the open Country of the *Highlands*, where, beſides other Difficulties, he was much diſtreſ-

ſed

ſed with the Want of Proviſion. General *Monk*, before his March up into the Country, had already laid up Proviſion of Bisket and Cheeſe in three ſeveral convenient Places, at *Leith*, *St. Johnſton's*, and *Inverneſs*; for other Supplies, they were to find them in the Country as they could. And having left a Party of Horſe and Foot to range about the *Lowlands*, and prevent the raiſing of more Forces, he, with General *Morgan*, marched up into the *Highlands* in two diſtinct Bodies, having about two thouſand five hundred Foot, and about ſix hundred Horſe, in each Party; with which Force he purſued the *Scotch* Army, retreating ſtill before him. And as he took in any Caſtles or Places of Strength, he had them preſently ſupply'd with Proviſions from his former Stores at *St. Johnſton's* or *Leith*, by which Means his Army was never very diſtant from ſome Place of Supply. And at any Stage the Soldiers took with them in their Knapſacks ſuch Proviſion of Cheeſe and Bisket, as ſerved them for ſix or ſeven Days; it being otherwiſe impoſſible for his Soldiers to have Courage to attend the Enemy through a Country ſo deſolate and full of Bogs. As he marched through the Countries or Lands of ſuch as were wholly in Arms, he deſtroyed almoſt all before him; ſo that he knew at length they would be forc'd to ſubmit or ſtarve.

II. THE

II. THE Earl of *Middleton*, obſerving daily the Decay of his Forces, and the Ruin of the Country, was very earneſt to have come to a Battle with General *Monk*, or with Major General *Morgan*, who kept on their Way in two diſtinct Bodies, and within four Days March one of another. But this Reſolution was laid aſide at a Council of War, upon the Conſideration, that if they ſhould have the good Fortune to engage one Party with Succeſs, the other, being freſh, might advance upon them, before they could be in Condition to receive them, to the Hazard or Loſs of their whole Army.

III. But there was alſo another ſecret Contrivance on Foot, that did moſt of all take off the *Scotch* Nobility and Gentry from coming to an Engagement. For the Uſurper *Cromwel*, being not yet warm in his Seat, and knowing how many Enemies he had, both to his Perſon and Fortune, had greatly apprehended their riſing in *Scotland* as a Prelude to a farther Inſurrection in *England:* And having greater and more neceſſary Affairs upon him, than proſecuting a War in the *Highlands*, had, by his ſecret Agents, attempted ſome of the *Scotch* Nobility and Gentry in the Army, and let them know, that, for this their haſty Riſing, he was content

to

to accept their Submiſſion, and, upon laying down their Arms, and returning quietly to their Houſes, they ſhould be reſtored to their Eſtates and Fortunes. Which being offered to them in the midſt of ſo many Straits, beſides the Decay of their Forces, and the ill Poſture of their Affairs, induced them not to put all to Hazard upon ſo great Diſadvantage, but rather to ſubmit for the preſent, in Expectation of ſome more fortunate Opportunity for recovering their Liberty, and reſtoring their King.

IV. Some of the more eager and zealous Officers in the *Engliſh* Army were frequently importunate with him, to come cloſe up to the Enemy, and enforce them to a Battle. But General *Monk* better underſtood the Nature of this War than his inferior Commanders; and, having continual Account of the *Scotch* Army by ſome *Highlanders*, he aſſured his Officers, that the Enemy's Army was in ſuch Difficulties, and ſo daily decreaſing, that the Buſineſs would be certainly done without a Battle: Nor did they afterwards find him deceiv'd in his Prognoſticks.

V. But in the Interim Major General *Morgan*, with that Party of the *Engliſh* Forces under his Command, ſurpriz'd ſome *Scotch* Forces at *Loughgerry*, and utterly defeated them.

them. Upon which the Earl of *Middleton* retreated to an Iſland, from whence afterwards he got back again into *Holland*. Others of the Nobility and Officers making their Submiſſion, General *Monk* ſettled convenient Garriſons in the Country. And having perform'd ſuch a March thro' the Country of the *Highlands*, where no Force of the *Engliſh* had ever left a Footſtep behind them, and which the Inhabitants accounted inacceſſible to any but themſelves, by the End of *Auguſt* he return'd to *Edenburgh*, which, being the capital City of the Nation, was the moſt proper Place of Reſidence for the Prefect, or chief Governor.

VI. But General *Monk*, who always affected the Privacy and Retirement of the Country, and took a particular Fancy to the Situation of *Dalkeith-Houſe*, became a Tenant to it: Where he continu'd his Head-Quarters, during his more than five Years Command of that Country. It was pleaſantly ſeated in the midſt of a Park, and at the commodious Diſtance of five Miles from *Edenburgh*. Here, in the Intervals of publick Buſineſs, he diverted himſelf with the Pleaſures of Planting and Husbandry; reſembling therein ſome of the Conſuls and Dictators of the ancient *Rome*; who, after they had ſubdued Nations, and led Kings in Triumph, return'd

turn'd again to their Tillage, and with their own Hands dreſſed their Trees and Vineyards.

1655 VII. Upon the Reduction of the *Highlands*, there being now no Enemy in Arms in *Scotland*, General *Monk* found himſelf at Liberty to inſpect the Civil Affairs of the Country. And becauſe the Covenanting Clergy were grown ſo inſolent in their Power and Influence over the Government and People, a particular Care was uſed to abate their Rigour. They had indeed the undiſturbed Uſe of their Kirks and Preaching, during General *Monk*'s Command; but were not permitted the Liberty of making Reflexions upon their Superiors, or the Government, unto which, by the Complexion of their Religion, or the pragmatical Spirit of the Clergy, they are greatly inclined. The Power of Excommunication, and the Conſequents upon it, which was the Palladium of Presbyterianiſm, was wholly taken from them. Their Presbyteries were indeed connived at, but their general Aſſemblies diſturbed and forbidden: So that they who ſome Years before, in the Height and Ruffle of their religious Zeal, being abetted by their Party in *England*, had the Confidence to outlaw the late King, when he forbad their Aſſemblies, were now ſo reduced and baffled by the *Engliſh* Army, that they

would have diſſolved any of their Conventions at the Command of a Corporal. Nor were the Nobility and Gentry permitted to wear Swords, to ride on a Horſe of Value, to proſecute their old Animoſities among themſelves, nor to exerciſe any arbitrary and violent Practices towards their Inferiors and Servants.

CHAP. VII.

I. Cromwel *appoints a Council of State, conſiſting of Seven, whereof General* Monk *was one.* II. *Three of the Council afterwards concur with General* Monk. III. *Colonel* Overton *endeavours to corrupt the Army, and deſigns the Aſſaſſination of the General, but is detected, and ſent Priſoner to* London. IV. Scotland *enjoys great Peace and Plenty under the General's Adminiſtration.* V. Cromwel *jealous of him.* VI. *He is under great Affliction for the Death of his ſecond Son.* VII. *A friendly Correſpondence between the General and the* Scotch *Nobility and Gentry.* VIII. *Which was improved by his Enemies to the Confirmation of* Cromwel's *Jealouſy of him; whereupon* Cromwel *writes to him.* IX. Cromwel's *artful Manner of Writing.* X. *At the ſame*

Time he was very weak in truſting a Perſon whom he ſuſpected, with a Place of ſuch Command.

I. AND now the Protector having fully ſecured the Subjection of *Scotland*, there was appointed by the Uſurper a Council of State, for the better Adminiſtration of the Civil Government. *viz.* The Lord *Broghil*, Preſident of the Council, General *George Monk*, Colonel *Howard*, Colonel *William Lockhart*, Colonel *Adrian Scroop*, Colonel *John Wetham*, and Major General *Desborow*. To this Employment they were authorized by a Commiſſion under *Cromwel's* Broad Seal, dated *June* 1655, though they came not down to exerciſe their Commiſſion in that Nation till about the middle of *September* following. By which they were enabled to order and diſpoſe of the Revenues in *Scotland*, to appoint the Officers of the Exchequer, the Commiſſioners of Exciſe and Cuſtoms, and of the Sequeſtrations, and all ſubordinate Officers under them. They had alſo the Nomination of all Juſtices of the Peace, of Sheriffs and Commiſſaries in the ſeveral Counties; which Commiſſaries kept their Courts for Probate of Wills, and granting Adminiſtrations in their reſpective Limits. And by an additional Power from *Cromwel*, they were afterwards authoriz'd to approve

and allow of all Incumbents that were to be admitted into any Eccleſiaſtical Benefice.

II. THIS Council was continued in *Scotland* during the Uſurpation of *Cromwel* and his Son. But three of thoſe Commiſſioners, namely, the Lord *Broghil* Earl of *Orrery*, Colonel *Howard* Earl of *Carliſle*, and Colonel *Whetham*, who was Governor of *Portſmouth*, did afterwards very effectually co-operate with General *Monk* in thoſe great and happy Alterations, which at laſt introduced the King.

III. ABOUT this Time the Commonwealth Party in the Army, who ſecretly maligned the Protector's Government, were framing Deſigns againſt him, which were to take Effect in the Armies of all the three Nations. Among whom Colonel *Overton* was one, who had ſo far diſſembled his Diſcontents, as to obtain the Command of Major General of the Infantry, in General *Monk*'s Army; where he quickly fell to practiſing upon the diſcontented Party of the Soldiers, and had ſet up Agitators to corrupt the particular Regiments; ſo that under the old Pretence of *ſeeking the Lord*, a conſiderable Number of Male-contents met in order to this Defection at *Aberdeen*. He had held ſe-

veral ſecret Meetings, and framed a ſmart Declaration againſt *Cromwel* and the Government; proceeding ſo far as to deſign to himſelf the chief Command of the *Engliſh* Army in *Scotland*, which could not be effected but by the Death of General *Monk*, whom they had reſolv'd to ſurprize on *New-Years* Day in the Morning, and *Miles Sindercomb* (afterwards more famous for deſigning upon the Life of the Protector *Cromwel*) was one of the Aſſaſſins. All this Practice was not ſo ſecretly carry'd, but the wary General had Notice of it. And having taken Care for his own Security, he ſuffered *Overton* and his Accomplices to proceed, till he had ſufficient Matter againſt them, and then impriſon'd them all in their ſeveral Quarters. *Overton* he ſent up to *London*, to be reckon'd with by the Protector himſelf, who laid him faſt in the Tower, having before ſecured many other Officers of the Faction in ſeveral Goals and Caſtles. *Overton*'s Regiment was given to Major General *Morgan*, and for the reſt of the Confederates, General *Monk* impriſoned or caſhired them.

1656 IV. AFTER this little Mutiny in *Scotland*, we find no more Diſorders in the Country, during the General's Command there; but an univerſal Peace among them; and (the Effect of Peace) an univerſal Plenty and Trade.

For

For the General was always very careful in providing the Pay for his Army, both by the Tax in *Scotland*, the ſixty thouſand Pounds *per Menſem*, and what was further aſſigned from *England*. So that the Soldiers, being well paid, were enabled to diſcharge their Quarters duly, and the Money did ſo univerſally circulate thro' the Country, that there was never known ſo much ready Coin in *Scotland*, as during General *Monk*'s Command there. He had formed his Army to a very exact Diſcipline, ſo that nothing was more rare than to hear of any Mutinies among themſelves, or Depredations on the People: Inſomuch that tho' General *Monk* continued among them to ſecure their Subjection, yet they had a great Opinion of his Generoſity and Juſtice; and ſo much Kindneſs for his Soldiers, during a long and peaceable Neighbourhood together, that they looked upon them no otherwiſe than as Natives of the Place, or a Part of their Country; and as Guardians rather of their Safety and Liberty, than Inſtruments of their Servitude and Subjection.

V. HITHERTO the Protector had wanted Leiſure, or Pretence, to remove General *Monk* from his ſo long Command in *Scotland*: Yet his Jealouſy found out other Ways to prevent him from having too much Influ-

ence over his Army, by removing often ſome Regiments which he moſt truſted, and ſending down to him all thoſe reſtleſs and violent Parties, which he could leaſt govern in *England*. And theſe furious and hair-brain'd Sectaries gave him frequently a great deal of Trouble, before he could take down their Mettle, and bring them to live quietly in their Quarters, and to know Diſcipline.

VI. About this Time, as an Allay to his Felicities, General *Monk* loſt his ſecond Son, *George*, who, in his Infancy, dy'd of a Feaver, attended with Convulſion Fits, and was buried in the Chapel of *Dalkeith-Houſe*. The Death of this Child affected the General with ſo unuſual and deep a Sorrow, as was greatly admired by thoſe, who know not that, in the higheſt Courage, there is a Mixture of the greateſt Tenderneſs; or have not read, how that the brave *Æmylius* * was ſo concern'd for the Death of his two Children, that it took from him the chief Satisfaction of his late Victories, and withered the Laurels of his Triumph.

VII. Since the Inſurrection of the *Highlanders*, there had been for ſome Years no

* *Plutarch's* Life of *Æmylius*.

conſt-

conſiderable Hoſtility in *Scotland*. And Time, that overcomes all Things, had worn out in a great Meaſure the Memory of all paſt Animoſities. So that the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland* came to a better Underſtanding of their General, whom they frequently viſited; and there were among them ſeveral worthy and honourable Perſons, for whom General *Monk* had a very particular Eſtimation, inſomuch as he frequently deſired their Converſation, and did adviſe with them in the Management of ſeveral publick Affairs in their Country. Even the brave and valiant Party of the *Montroſſians*, had a Place in his Eſtimation and Kindneſs, ſo far as the Condition of Affairs then, and the jealous Temper of the Age, would admit. And tho' General *Monk* abated nothing of his Diſcipline, yet by his other Methods of Moderation and Prudence, he had ſo far obliged all Parties, that whilſt the Protector, with all his Arts of terrifying or informing, could not keep himſelf a Year round from Deſigns or Inſurrections againſt him in *England*, General *Monk* continued the Government in *Scotland* without any further Plot or Practice upon him.

VIII. BUT this his quiet and peaceful Go- 1658
vernment of *Scotland*, and the general Eſtimation that waited on him there, was, by his Enemies in the Country, and others about

the Protector, repreſented as a jealous Inſtance. And *Cromwel*, whoſe Humours towards his Declenſion, grew like other Liquors near their Bottom, ſharp and turbid, had entertain'd ſome Apprehenſion of him. The Diſcontents between him and his late Parliament, and the Diſcovery of another new Plot upon him, led him to other Thoughts: Only ſome while before his Death, he wrote to him a Letter with his own Hand, containing only general Matters relating to the Government; but in his Poſtſcript he ſubjoins:

There be that tell me, that there is a certain cunning Fellow in Scotland, *called* George Monk, *who is ſaid to lye in wait there to introduce* Charles Stuart; *I pray uſe your Diligence to apprehend him, and ſend him up to me.*

IX. This was a kind of Grimace in the Protector, to wrap up his Suſpicions in Drollery: And it was another Part of his Cunning, to place that in a Poſtſcript which in Reality was the main Occaſion of the Letter.

X. And here I deſire my Reader to obſerve, that the Suſpicion upon General *Monk* of reſtoring King *Charles*, did not firſt ariſe from his wary Reſervedneſs, and ſtudied Concealments of himſelf, in his celebrated March from

from *Colſtream*; but it was an Apprehenſion that did long before diſtreſs the Minds of thoſe, who had been guilty of excluding his Majeſty from his Dominions, and whoſe Intereſt therefore it was to hinder his Return.

IT was certainly a great Overſight in *Cromwel* to continue ſo great a Command, as the Government of *Scotland*, in the Hands of General *Monk*, of whom he could have no great Security from his Principles, nor as partaking with him in mutual Guilts. But whatever his ſecret Reſentments were, they proceeded no further, being prevented by his own Death, which quickly after enſued on *September* 3, 1658. a Day which in his Lifetime he had kept as an anniverſary Feſtival, and now by his Death made it truly ſuch to the Commonwealth. And now having five Years followed Providence in doing all the Miſchief he was able, he left the Uſurpation with ſo little Content to himſelf, or Hopes of its Continuance, that he had taken no Care of the Succeſſion, if he had not been put upon it by the Importunities of thoſe about him.

CHAP. VIII.

I. Cromwel *dies, and his Son* Richard *is proclaimed at* Edenburgh, *who ſends Letters of Compliment to General* Monk. II. *The State of* England *at that Time. A Parliament called. Some of the Members cabal againſt the young Protector. The Commons reſent it; while the Protector, by the Advice of* Thurloe, *diſplaces ſome of the Officers of the Army; the Houſe of Lords, on the contrary, favouring them.* III. *The Parliament diſſolved; by which Means the Officers recover their Places and Intereſt.* IV. *And are for reſtoring the* Rump *Parliament.* V. Fleetwood *and* Desborow *deſert the Intereſt of the Protector, and fall into* Lambert's *Meaſures.* VI. *The Protector turned out.* VII. *And the Rump Parliament reſtored; with the Reaſons of that Reſolution.* VIII. *The Rump Parliament, to ſecure themſelves, empower their Speaker to grant Commiſſions in the Army, appointing a Committee of Seven for the Nomination of Officers.* IX. *General* Monk's *Conduct upon theſe Alterations.* X. *The Loyaliſts in* England *take Advantage from them.* XI. *How the King's Affairs had been managed ſince the Death of his Father.* XII. *The Presbyterians join with the Royaliſts; their Reaſons for ſo doing.*

I. THE

I. THE Death of the Protector, and the Orders for proclaiming his Son, came to General *Monk* to *Dalkeith* much at the ſame Time. And preſently after *Richard Cromwel* was proclaimed at *Edenburgh*, but with ſo cold and indifferent Ceremony, both in the People and *Engliſh* Army, that it ſeem'd rather an Act of Obedience, than Affection. But to ſettle a better Underſtanding with General *Monk*, the Protector *Richard* ſent preſently Commiſſary *Clarges* with Letters to him, both to compliment his farther Service, and to deſire his Advice. They who converſed with General *Monk* in thoſe Times, have reported it as his Opinion, that if *Oliver Cromwel* had lived, he could not have held the Government much longer: And therefore for his eaſy Son, he preſently foreſaw, he would not be able to continue his Station many Months. Yet he return'd him very civil and wary Anſwers to his Letters, and carefully ſecuring his own Command, he was reſolved not to concern himſelf with the Affairs of *England*; but to leave the young Protector to the Conduct of thoſe about him, and his own haſty Deſtiny.

II. THE laſt Protector had left his Son many Enemies againſt his Government, and thoſe he could truſt were rather Friends to his

his Fortune than himſelf. He had left the Government in ſuch a miſerable Condition, with ſo many Debts and Arrears to his Army, that his Son was not able to keep open Doors any longer, without the Help of a Parliament, which was convened to ſit down, *Ja-*
1596 *nuary* the 17th, conſiſting of an Houſe of Commons, and another they call'd in thoſe Times, the *Other Houſe*. In this Aſſembly there were ſo many return'd of different Humours and Principles, that againſt the opening of the Parliament, many of the Officers of the Army haſten'd up to *London*, where, meeting ſeveral others formerly diſoblig'd by the late Protector, they fell preſently to caballing with other Male-contents, how to wreſt the Government from his Son. Of this Party one of the leading Perſons was Colonel *Lambert*, whoſe conceal'd Ambition began now to diſcover it ſelf. They had held ſeveral Meetings in order to theſe Ends, with ſo much Ceremony, as if they had been the hereditary Princes of the Nation; and had ſo fool'd *Fleetwood* and *Desborow*, and other half-witted People of *Cromwel*'s Alliance, who had no true Notion of their own and *Cromwel*'s Intereſt, that they ſaw not their Error till it was too late to retrieve it. Theſe bold and open Aſſemblies of the Officers gave ſome Alarm to the Commons then ſitting, who diſcover'd their Jealouſy and Diſpleaſure againſt

againſt theſe Conventions, by their voting againſt them, and favouring rather the Intereſt of the young Protector, while the other Houſe abetted the Aſſembly of the Army-Officers againſt him; who at laſt ran into ſuch high and inſolent Reſolves, as the Protector *Richard* was prudently advis'd to ſecure their Perſons, then aſſembled in Sir *Henry Vane*, or Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*'s Houſe, and diſpoſe of their Commands. But his Secretary *Thurloe* perſuaded him to recall their Commiſſions, yet to leave their Perſons at Liberty. By which timorous and middle Counſel, he had no way oblig'd them to continue his Maſter's Friends, nor diſabl'd them from becoming his Enemies.

III. THE Officers of the Army did hitherto greatly fear the Influence and Diſpleaſure of the Houſe of Commons, as they deſpis'd the Weakneſs and Incapacity of their Protector *Richard*, and therefore inſolently compelling him to diſſolve their Seſſion, they then preſently ſeiz'd the Army wholly into their own Hands, diſplacing all Officers that moſt favoured the Protectorate, by which Alteration Colonel *Lambert*, and the reſt of thoſe diſcarded Commanders, recover'd again their Stations in the Army.

IV. THE

IV. The Protector's Relations were all this while ſo ſtupid and ſenſeleſs, that they did not yet diſcern they had ruined themſelves and him, by this Breach upon his Power: But being ſtill fooled with a Bell and a Rattle, they had the Vanity to perſuade him, all ſhould be very well with him, and tho' he had loſt his Authority, yet he ſhould continue his Government. But at the next Meeting of thoſe Officers they quickly found their Error, when it was paſt Remedy. For tho' theſe People, who had magnify'd the *Cromwels*, as the *Moſes* that had led them out of the Houſe of Bondage, yet now they are reſolved to ſet up *Fleetwood* their Captain, and to return again into *Ægypt*. For now nothing would pleaſe them, but to reſtore the late Tail of a Parliament, to whoſe Diſſolution, five Years ago, moſt of them had been conſenting; and ſome of them had actually aſſiſted *Cromwel* in pulling them out of the Houſe, and expoſing them to the World as a Pack of Knaves and Villains, who had ſpent more than ten Years Time there in cheating the Nation. Notwithſtanding their former Contempt of them, when it ſerved their Ambition or Intereſt, the religious Hypocrites were not aſhamed, by their Declaration, *May* 6. to proclaim the ſame People, the eminent

eminent Aſſerters of the good old Cauſe, and ſuch as had a ſpecial Preſence of God with them, and were ſignally bleſſed in the Work.

V. FLEETWOOD and *Desborow* did eaſily diſcern, that the Diſcourſe among them for reſtoring the late Parliament, muſt prove the certain Ruin of the Protectorate. And when they had found, that, by their own ill Management or Credulity, they had utterly loſt *Richard*'s Game, they took Care to ſave their own Stake, and to ſecure their high Commands in the Army, by complying with *Lambert* and the other Officers, leaving their young Kinſman friendleſs and defenceleſs to the Contempt and Revenge of his Enemies.

VI. AND thus ended the Uſurpation of the *Cromwels*, begun by the Villanies and Falſhoods of the Father, and concluding in the Follies of the Son; and the ſame People that had been the Aſcent to the one, became the Precipice to the other. They who had ſo officiouſly lent *Oliver* their Hand to raiſe him up, were now as buſy with their Feet to kick down *Richard*.

VII. THE Officers of the Army, who had thus thrown down the Protectorate, had no other Authority to which they could retreat, but reſtoring the old Commonwealth Parliament.

ment. They could not ſupport the Government by a military Council of their own, becauſe that Conſtitution could raiſe no Money, which was then extremely wanted. And the great ones were grown to ſuch an Height of Self-opinion and Jealouſy of each other, that they could never agree to ſubmit to any ſingle Perſon choſen from among themſelves; nor could they truſt a new Parliament, which was likely enough to declare them Rebels. There was therefore no other Way but to mount their good old Cauſe again upon this Rump of the late Long-Parliament, and to ride till ſome of them (having ripen'd their Deſigns) could find an higher Ground to alight at.

VIII. THE Members of the late Long-Parliament gave good Words to them that had reſtored them, now a ſecond Time, to a Capacity of doing further Miſchief. Yet they were reſolv'd firſt to ſecure their own Station, by fixing the Army in a more certain Dependance upon themſelves. And to that End, tho' they granted to *Fleetwood* a Commiſſion to command as General, yet they allow'd him no Power to ſign Commiſſions to others, but reſerv'd that Truſt for the Speaker of their Houſe; from whoſe Hands only all Commiſſions ſhould paſs. And at the ſame Time appointed a Committee of ſeven Perſons, *viz.*

Lieutenant

Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*, Colonel *Lambert*, *Desborow*, *Ladlow*, and *Berry*, with Authority to model the Army, and diſplace all ſuch Officers in the three Nations as they thought fit.

IX. GENERAL *Monk* ſat all this while ſilent in *Scotland*, keeping a very ſteady Eye upon all theſe ſeveral Scenes and Alterations in *London*. And knowing himſelf to be in a Station ſo conſiderable, as they would be enforc'd to make Applications to him, he was reſolv'd to keep himſelf at a Diſtance, and ſecure his own Command, leaving them a while to manage their Game at their own Rate.

X. NOR did the loyal Party in *England* ſtand as idle and unconcern'd Spectators upon this great Change of Affairs. They had indeed unfortunately loſt the Field in the Civil War; but yet contriv'd the Continuance of ſeveral Inſurrections and Parties, in order to reſtore the Monarchy; which hitherto, by the Vigilance of their Enemies, or the Treachery of ſome among themſelves, had been fruſtrated. Yet ſupporting themſelves with the Aſſurance and Conſcience of ſo good a Cauſe, they kept up their Hopes and Endeavours, and, with a very ſingular Attention, obſerv'd thoſe wild Alterations and Inconſtan-

cies of their Enemies, hoping this their Giddineſs, by ſo many turnings round, would enforce their Fall at the laſt.

XI. His Majeſty's Affairs in *England*, ſince the Death of his Father, had been managed by a ſecret Conclave choſen out of the loyal Nobility, and other Perſons of Honour and Quality, that had ſurviv'd the late War on the King's Side, and were authorized to this Employment by a Commiſſion under his Majeſty's Hand; as the Earl of *Oxford*, Earl of *Northampton*, Sir *John Greenvil*, now Earl of *Bath*, the Lord Viſcount *Mordant*, the Lord *Bellaſis*, Colonel *John Ruſſel*, Colonel of his Majeſty's Guards, Sir *William Compton*, late General of the Ordnance, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, late Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Sir *Jeffrey Palmer*, late Attorney General, Colonel *William Legg*, one of the Gentlemen of his Majeſty's Bedchamber, Colonel *Edward Villars*, of the Bedchamber to his Royal Highneſs, Mr. *Newport*, Brother to the Lord *Newport*, Dr. *Hewit*; and to theſe was unfortunately added Sir *Richard Willis*, who afterwards fell into Suſpicion, and was not entruſted. Some of theſe ſecret Commiſſioners were always reſiding in *London*, both to hold Intelligence with ſeveral Perſons of Worth and Loyalty, that were engag'd for his Majeſty's Service in every

County of *England*, and alſo to tranſmit to his Majeſty an Account of Things according to any new Emergency.

XII. ABOUT this Time ſeveral of the Royal Party found a fair Opportunity to inlarge their Intereſt, by the Acceſſion of ſeveral among the more moderate of the Presbyterians. The reſtoring again the Tail of the late Parliament, had greatly diſobliged that Party; and the rather becauſe all the Preſbyterian Members (who had as much Right to ſit as the other) were kept out by the Inſolence of the Juncto, being abetted by the Power of their Army. Theſe Reſentments run at laſt ſo high in the whole Body of the Presbyterians, that, diſdaining to ſubmit again to a Juncto of Knaves that had fool'd and cozen'd them, and to their boiſterous Army of Fanaticks, they choſe rather to join themſelves to their old Enemy the Royal Party, for the Recovery of their common Liberty.

CHAP. IX.

I. *An univerſal Inſurrection in every County agreed upon, and a Declaration for the Freedom of Parliaments, without mentioning*

tioning King or Monarchy. *Sir* George Booth *the first that appeared in it.* II. *A farther Design to attempt the bringing over some of the Officers.* *General* Monk *esteemed the most likely to be prevail'd upon, and Sir* John Greenvile *the most proper Person to be sent to him for that purpose.* III. *An Account of Sir* John Greenvil. *His Descent, with some Account of his Father. His several Advancements and Conduct in the Army.* IV. *Compounds for his Estate, and lives retired upon the Seat of the Family at* Kelkhampton. V. *Presents Mr.* Nicholas Monk, *Brother to the General, to the Living of* Kelkhampton. VI. *Whose Presentation is admitted by the Committee of Tryers.* VII. *Sir* John *leaves the Country, and resides in* London, *for the Discharge of a Commission from the King. He recommends Mr.* Nicholas Monk *to the King, as a fit Person to be sent to the General in* Scotland. VIII. *The King's Letter to Sir* John *for that purpose.* IX. *The King's Letter to the General.* X. *Sir* John *acquaints Mr.* Nicholas Monk, *then in* Cornwal, *with the King's Pleasure, who readily accepts the Trust, and immediately repairs to* London *to Sir* John, *and from thence to* Scotland. XI. *Mr.* Monk *arrives in* Scotland, *and communicates his Business to Dr.*

Price, *the General's Chaplain, who gives him ſome Inſtructions about the Management of it.* XII. *Mr.* Monk's *Interview with, and Reception from, the General.* XIII. *The Committee makes ſeveral Alterations in the General's Army, which he refuſes to comply with, but improves them to the Service of that Reſolution which he had taken upon the King's Meſſage to him.* XIV. *An Oath of Secrecy.* XV. *And a Declaration to the Juncto, ſigned by the General and his Officers; wherein the Juncto was commanded to fill up their Members, and to provide for frequent Parliaments. A remarkable Expreſſion of the General's to Dr.* Price. XVI. *Sir* George Booth *defeated.* XVII. *Upon which the General burns the Declaration.* XVIII. *The Juncto and their Army in* England *diſagree.* XIX. *The Army ſends to their Brethren in* Ireland, *and to General* Monk *in* Scotland, *for their Concurrence againſt the Parliament; whereupon General* Monk *declares for the Parliament.*

I. THE King's Commiſſioners very well underſtood how to deal with theſe People, and to make uſe of their Intereſt; and therefore having firſt agreed, that an univerſal Inſurrection ſhould be made in every

County of *England*, and every one upon the ſame Day (for which ſeveral Perſons of Quality had undertaken) they conſented that the firſt Appearance ſhould be of ſuch Perſons only as had not been engag'd on the King's Side in the late War; thereby both to prevent the greater Jealouſy of the Army againſt them, and with Hopes to have drawn over the more moderate Party among the Soldiers. They agreed alſo to a Declaration, which ſhould not mention the King, nor monarchical Government, but only for the Freedom of Parliaments, according to the known Laws, and for Liberty and Property of the People. And in this Inſurrection the firſt and only Perſon that appear'd was Sir *George Booth*.

II. But beſides this Deſign of an univerſal Inſurrection, (which, if it had ſucceeded right, had given the Juncto and their Army Trouble enough) it was reſolv'd by his Majeſty and his Privy-Council at *Bruſſels*, to attempt the Allegiance of ſome principal Commanders in the *Engliſh* Army. And that ſince it had not been poſſible to deal with them while united, to ſee what good might be done by engaging one Party againſt the other, which was an Experiment that could never yet be made: Upon an exact Conſideration of ſeveral great Officers among them all, there was no Perſon of whom they could entertain

entertain any probable Hope but General *Monk* in *Scotland*, who, being a Gentleman born, and of better Quality than moſt among them, and having formerly been in the Service of the late King, and no way concern'd in their Principles and deeper Guilts, might be thought, by the Condition of the Command he held, to be a Perſon very proper for ſuch a Service as this: Nor were there wanting certain Conceits and Forebodings in the Minds of Men concerning him. Having therefore reſolved to make ſome Attempt upon him, the next Care was in the Choice of a Perſon fit to undertake it: When it was ſeaſonably remember'd, that there was a very near Relation between General *Monk* and Sir *John Greenvil*, one of the ſecret Commiſſioners above-mentioned. And therefore there was diſpatched to him a particular Commiſſion, to find out ſome Way of treating privately with General *Monk*, in order to his Majeſty's Service.

AND becauſe we are here fallen upon the mention of a Perſon, that was ſo principally concern'd in the great Affair we have undertaken to relate, and made ſo conſiderable a Figure in it, I muſt lead the Reader a few Steps backward, for the giving him a clear Proſpect into the following Relation.

III. SIR *John Greenvil* was the eldeſt Son

of the valiant and loyal Sir *Bevil Greenvil* of *Kelkhampton* in *Cornwal*, who, at his own Charge in the Year 1638. rais'd a Troop of Horſe to attend his late Majeſty, in his firſt Expedition againſt the *Scots*; and, being afterwards return'd Knight of the Shire for *Cornwal* in the late Long Parliament, was ſent down by the King to ſettle the Commiſſion of Array in that County. After which he led on the *Corniſh* Forces againſt the Rebels in *Devonſhire*, and the Weſtern Counties, where he obtain'd ſeveral conſiderable Victories both at *Bodmin* and *Launceſton*, &c. and afterwards in the Battle of *Lanſdown* loſt his Life, valiantly fighting in the midſt of his Enemies, by whom he was kill'd with many Wounds. This Gentleman, his Son, Sir *John Greenvil*, now Earl of *Bath*, at fifteen Years of Age commanded his Father's Regiment, and afterwards was entruſted with five Regiments added to it, with which Force he ſucceſsfully ſerved the King in the Weſtern Parts of *England*; from whence marching afterwards, at the ſecond Battle of *Newberry*, expoſing himſelf very far, he was dangerouſly wounded. At eighteen Years of Age he was made Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the Prince, his preſent Majeſty, whom (after all was loſt in *England*) he attended in his Exile abroad. And whilſt his Majeſty ſtay'd at the *Hague*, the Garriſon and

Iſlanders

Iſlanders of *Scilly* revolted from the Parliament, and, having ſeiz'd their Governor, they ſent their Submiſſion to his Majeſty, deſiring him to ſend them a Governor, and ſome more Forces. Whereupon the King, knowing the Courage and Reſolution of Sir *John Greenvil*, beſides the Intereſt which his Name and Family had in thoſe Weſtern Parts, thought him the fitteſt Perſon for this Service; and immediately ſent him to command the Iſland, with Directions alſo for the Marquiſs of *Ormond*, to ſend him three hundred Soldiers out of *Ireland*, which were accordingly diſpatched over to *Scilly*. But the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, having brought all *England* into Subjection, having lately reduc'd *Ireland*, and being in a fair Way for conquering *Scotland*, diſdain'd to be out-brav'd by two or three little Iſlands, and therefore, 1651, they order'd their Admiral *Blake* and *Aiſcough*, with a good Force of Men of War and Soldiers, to attack the Iſland. He came before *Scilly* with ſo conſiderable a Force, that Sir *John Greenvil*, and thoſe Officers with him, preſently found they ſhould not be long able to hold the Iſland againſt him: But putting a good Face upon an ill Buſineſs, they ſlighted his Summons, and prepared themſelves for Defence. Yet afterwards, coming to a Treaty, the Iſland was ſurrender'd upon Articles ſo honourable and advantagious to the Beſieg'd, that the Parliament

ment refus'd to confirm them. But General *Blake*, who was a Perſon of Honour and Generoſity, telling his Maſters how little he car'd to keep his Commiſſion otherwiſe than by keeping his Word, they were at laſt contented, that this Agreement ſhould be allow'd.

IV. By the Benefit of theſe Articles, Sir *John Greenvil* came into a Condition to compound for his Eſtate, and to live quietly in his own Country. And retiring himſelf to his Seat at *Kelkhampton* in *Cornwal*, upon the Borders of *Devonſhire*, he found not only his Eſtate, but alſo the Parſonage, under Sequeſtration. The Incumbent Mr. *Rowſe*, being turn'd out of his Living for Diſaffection to the Parliament, the Sequeſtrator had introduc'd his Son. But ſome while after Sir *John Greenvil*'s Return thither, by the Death of Mr. *Rowſe*, the Living came again into Sir *John*'s Gift. The Sequeſtrator was very earneſt with him, to confirm his Son-in-Law, by granting him the Preſentation; and the Value was conſiderable, with the very beſt of the Country, being worth three hundred Pounds *per Ann.* In thoſe villainous Times the ſequeſtred loyal Party found it their Intereſt to gratify and oblige thoſe Publicans and Sequeſtrators; but Sir *John Greenvil* had a greater Deſign in his Eye than his own pri-

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vate Advantage. For both himſelf, and ſome other of his Relations, were not without Hopes, but that, at one Time or other, their Couſin *Monk* in *Scotland* might become an uſeful Man for his Majeſty's Service; and though he wanted Opportunity of obliging the General himſelf, yet he reſolved to come as near it as he could, in being kind to his Brother, Mr. *Nicholas Monk*, who was already ſettled in the Country, about twelve Miles from *Kelkhampton*, in a moderate Living, where he had married a Widow, with ſome Acceſſion of Fortune; and, in thoſe dangerous and unquiet Times, poſſeſſed a ſweet and comfortable Privacy.

V. To this Gentleman, who was alſo his Couſin-German, Sir *John Greenvil* was reſolv'd to give the Living of *Kelkhampton*, and thereupon ſent for him to his Houſe; when, after other Diſcourſe, and ſome Conference relating to General *Monk* in *Scotland*, he very freely gave him the Preſentation, upon no other Condition or Reſerve, but that if he ſhould afterwards have Occaſion to uſe or employ him, he would be aſſured of his Readineſs therein; which was very willingly promis'd by Mr. *Nicholas Monk*, and it was afterwards as faithfully perform'd. Mr. *Monk* had in thoſe Times the Character of a very honeſt and worthy Perſon, and was generally look'd

look'd upon as a Man firmly devoted to the King and Church of *England*; yet by his moderate and ſilent Behaviour, he had eſcaped with leſs Obſervation than many others of that Party and Principles.

VI. But though he had received the Preſentation from his Patron, yet, before he could be legally admitted into this Living, he was to run the Gantlet at *London*, through a Contrivance, call'd in thoſe Times *the Committee of Tryers*, which was made up chiefly of Camp-Chaplains, and other Incendiaries of the Pulpit; where, if any Man came for Approbation, with a Title to a Living of Value, they had a thouſand Tricks and Rogueries in Readineſs to fruſtrate the Preſentation, and diſpoſe of it among themſelves, or their Party. Mr. *Monk*, very well knowing the Character that was upon him, had ſome Diſtruſt of theſe Tryers; but though they lik'd the Living better than the Man, yet underſtanding his Relation to General *Monk* in *Scotland*, they were afraid to put any of their Tricks upon him, but diſmiſs'd him and his Title with Allowance.

VII. About a Year after Mr. *Nicholas Monk* was ſettled in this Parſonage at *Kelkhampton*, Sir *John Greenvil* was oblig'd to leave the Country, and to reſide in *London*, in

in order to the Diſcharge of that ſecret Truſt, of which we have given an Account before. Where, receiving the Inſtructions before mentioned, to purſue ſome Means of treating with General *Monk*; he diſpatch'd a Meſſenger, with a Letter in Cypher, to the Lord Chancellor *Hyde* at *Bruſſels*, giving an Account of what had paſſed between him and Mr. *Nicholas Monk*, and propos'd him as the fitteſt Perſon to be ſent to his Brother the General in *Scotland*. The Chancellor communicated this Letter to his Majeſty, who ſo far approv'd the Deſign and Method, that Letters were preſently diſpatch'd back to him to proceed therein accordingly. That to Sir *John Greenvil* was as follows:

VIII. I *Am confident General* Monk *can have no Malice in his Heart againſt me, nor has he done any thing in Oppoſition to me which I cannot eaſily pardon, and it is in his Power to do me ſo great Service as I cannot fully reward; but I will do all I can. And I do hereby authorize you to treat with him, and not only to aſſure him of my Kindneſs, but that I will very liberally reward him with ſuch an Eſtate in Land, and ſuch a Title of Honour as himſelf ſhall deſire, if he will declare for me, and adhere to my Intereſt: And whatever you ſhall promiſe to him on my Behalf, or whatever he,*

or

or you by his Advice, ſhall promiſe to any of his Officers, or the Army under his Command (which Command he ſhall ſtill continue) I will make good upon the Word of a King.

C. R.

IX. But by his ſecret Inſtructions he was confin'd to the Propoſal of one hundred thouſand Pounds *per Ann.* for ever to be diſtributed, at General *Monk*'s Diſcretion, to ſuch Officers in his Army, and others, as ſhould comply with him. And in the ſame Packet there was inclos'd this following Letter, to be convey'd to General *Monk.*

Sir,

I Cannot think you wiſh me ill, nor have you Reaſon to do ſo: And the good I expect from you will bring ſo great a Benefit to your Country, and to your ſelf, that I cannot think you will decline my Intereſt. The Perſon who gives, or ſends this to you, has Authority to ſay much more to you from me. And if you once reſolve to take my Intereſt to Heart, I will leave the Way and Manner of declaring it entirely to your Judgment, and will comply with the Advice you ſhall give me. The reſt I refer to the Perſon that conveys this to you. It is in your Power to make

make me as kind to you as you can desire, and to have me always,

Your affectionate Friend,

July 21, 1659. C. R.

X. UPON the Receipt of these Letters, Sir *John Greenvil* presently dispatch'd a Letter down to Mr. *Nicholas Monk* in *Cornwal*, to hasten his Journey up to him; and at his Arrival acquainted him privately with the whole Business; and that he was resolv'd to send him to General *Monk* in *Scotland*, shewing him his Commission from the King to treat with his Brother, and withal his Majesty's Letter to the General. And having fully instructed him in the Nature of his Employment, the next Care was, to oblige him to entire Secrecy. Both during his Stay in *London*, and when he was arrived in *Scotland*, he was engag'd not to discover his Message to any other Person but the General himself. And because all things were in Tumult and Disorder, upon Sir *George Booth*'s Insurrection, and the Roads full of Soldiers upon their March; it was thought most safe to go by Sea. Mr. *Monk* very willingly accepted the Employment, not only as an Instance of his Duty to the King, but also of his Gratitude to his Patron; yet feared to be entrusted with so dangerous a Charge as his Majesty's Letter, which therefore was, for the present, left still

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in Sir *John Greenvil*'s Hands. But before Mr. *Monk* left the Town, he thought it neceſſary to find out Commiſſary *Clarges*, who was Brother to General *Monk*'s Lady, and a Perſon very particularly intruſted by him, through all his greateſt Concerns in *England*. He acquainted him therefore, that he was going into *Scotland* to fetch home his eldeſt Daughter, who was then reſiding with her Uncle at *Dalkeith*, and to adviſe with him about a Match propos'd for her with a Gentleman of their own Country. All which was alſo really true, and had been very lately before treated of by Letters between the two Brothers. And here Commiſſary *Clarges* did him a very ſeaſonable Kindneſs, in procuring for him the Convenience of a Veſſel going off for *Scotland*, which landed him ſafely at *Leith* in three or four Days after. From thence he found Convenience for his Paſſage five Miles further to the Head-Quarters at *Dalkeith*.

XI. At his Arrival there, he found General *Monk* very buſy in Diſpatches (as there is ſeldom much Vacancy in the Head-Quarters of an Army) and therefore, till the Evening, was entertain'd by Dr. *Price*, who was domeſtick Chaplain to the General. Of this Perſon's Integrity and Allegiance to the King, Mr. *Monk* had receiv'd ſo clear and undoubted

ed a Character, that though he was expreſſly charged by Sir *John Greenvil*, not to communicate his Buſineſs to any Perſon but his Brother, yet he adventur'd the ſame Day that he came to *Dalkeith*, to intruſt the Doctor with the Knowledge of this great Secret: Who was as much ſurpriz'd with the Strangeneſs of the Relation, as he was pleaſed with the Deſign: But adviſ'd him not to acquaint any other Perſon with this Meſſage; and that there were not many about the General, who were fit to be truſted with a Secret of this Nature. And knowing the General's Temper and Condition better than his Brother did, (who had not ſeen him for many Years) he gave him ſeveral wary Inſtructions, how to manage his Diſcourſe with him.

XII. By this time they had talk'd themſelves into the Evening, and both of them went to attend upon the General, it being then the uſual Seaſon for him to be at Leiſure. But coming into the Dining-Room they found ſome Officers of *Leith* and *Edenburgh*, that were not yet diſpatch'd. Afterwards, late at Night, Mr. *Monk* and the General being alone, he took the Opportunity to reveal his Meſſage to him: That he was ſent to him from their Kinſman Sir *John Greenvil*, who had ſhew'd him a Commiſſion under the King's Hand, to treat with General *Monk* in order

to his Reſtauration; but the Manner of doing it, and the Reward of his Service, ſhould be wholly left to his own Choice. Only in the general he propos'd to him one hundred thouſand Pounds, to be annually ſecured to him, and to ſuch of his Officers, as ſhould adhere to him therein. Then he inform'd him, that he had ſeen a Letter directed to him from his Majeſty, which he was afraid to be entruſted with, and was ſtill remaining in Sir *John Greenvil's* Hand. Next he repreſented to him, the Seaſonableneſs of the Attempt at this Time, there being an univerſal Inſurrection form'd againſt the Rump-Parliament to take Effect over all *England*. That his Countrymen and Relations in *Devonſhire* and *Cornwal* were engag'd in it, mentioning Mr. *Morrice*, Sir *Hugh Pollard*, Sir *Thomas Stukely*, and others. That Sir *George Booth*, and ſeveral Perſons of Honour and Quality, were actually in Arms in *Cheſhire*, when he came out of *London*, the Copy of whoſe Declaration he had brought with him, and ſhewed the General. And that the Lord *Fairfax* had undertaken to riſe in *Yorkſhire*, and thoſe Counties. The General ask'd him ſeveral wary Queſtions about the Buſineſs, and what other Perſons were intruſted with the Knowledge of it. Mr. *Monk* aſſured him, that no other Perſon in *England* was privy to it beſide Sir *John Greenvil*; and that ſince it had been

been revealed to himſelf, he had acquainted only Dr. *Price* with the Knowledge of it. The thinking ſilent General ſaid no great Matter at preſent to his Brother upon all this Diſcourſe, and ſo they parted for that Night; and all things were kept ſo ſecret, that, during Mr. *Monk*'s continuance for above two Months at *Dalkeith*, it was never apprehended he had any other Buſineſs there, but to adviſe with the General about the matching of his Daughter, and to carry her home with him.

XIII. DURING this Intrigue at *Dalkeith*, the Septem-virate of Commiſſioners, which we mentioned before, had made vile Work among the Officers of his Army, having diſplac'd many of the braveſt and ſtouteſt Commanders: And though he reflected upon theſe Impoſitions upon him with ſome Reſentment, and interceded with the Parliament for the Continuance of his Officers, yet he could not fully ſtop theſe Alterations. But theſe Proceedings, as they greatly enrag'd the caſhiered Officers, and formed an univerſal Jealouſy in ſeveral of the reſt, who expected the ſame Meaſure, ſo they mov'd a deeper Indignation in the General himſelf, who, though he carry'd always the Appearance of a ſilent and ſteady temper, yet was implacable to Affronts; and very well known that theſe Al-

terations, which, no doubt, they made with that View, would at laſt make his own Station uneaſy or precarious, he was reſolved, when all was done, not to part with his Commanders. But by the Reſentments among them, General *Monk* (who very well knew how to make uſe of other Men's Paſſions) came to a better Underſtanding of thoſe about him, and the Inclinations of his Army, inſomuch as he entered into a private Conſultation with ſome whom he could beſt truſt, where it was agreed to frame a declaratory Letter to the Juncto at *Weſtminſter*: The Subſtance of which was, to repreſent to them their own and the Nation's Diſſatisfaction at the long and continued Seſſion of this Parliament, deſiring them to fill up their Members, and to proceed in eſtabliſhing ſuch Rules for future Elections, that the Common-wealth Government might be ſecured by frequent and ſucceſſive Parliaments. This Letter was drawn up by Dr. *Price*, at the Direction of the General, and Dr. *Gumble*; and the next Sunday following, after Evening Sermon, General *Monk* and his Brother, together with Dr. *Barrow*, Principal Phyſician to the Army, Dr. *Gumble*, Preacher to the Council at *Edenburgh*, and Adjutant *Smith*, met all at Dr. *Price*'s Chamber, who gave the General, and all of them ſucceſſively, an Oath of Secrecy in theſe Words:

XIV. *YOU ſhall truly ſwear, that you will not reveal any thing that ſhall be diſcourſed of by us, or read unto you, without the Conſent of all us here preſent.*

XV. NEXT they proceeded to the Peruſal of their Letter, which being ſign'd by the General, and the reſt of them in their Order, they agreed ſeverally to procure Subſcriptions to it from ſuch other Officers in the Army, as were moſt likely to comply with their Deſign. The General then commanded Adjutant *Smith* to haſten to *Edenburgh*, and to treat with Captain *Clifton*, Governor, about the Security of the Caſtle. From thence he was to paſs to *Leith*, to enſure Captain *Hughes* and Captain *Miller*, who commanded the Citadel there; which being the Sum of what was reſolv'd on that Night, the General left them, and went down Stairs, being always accuſtomed to adviſe privately with his own Thoughts, as well as with thoſe about him. But before Adjutant *Smith* was ready to take Horſe, he return'd into the Chamber again, and told them, that, upon better Conſideration, he thought it moſt ſecure for them, to arreſt their further Proceedings till the Return of the next Poſt, which would give them a clearer Proſpect of the Affairs of *England*, and thereby they might

might ſhape their own Way the better. That by the next Letters they ſhould know more perfectly, how near *Lambert* was advanced, what Force was join'd to Sir *George Booth*, and whether any other Parties were riſen in *England* to give Diverſion. This was ſo adviſedly propos'd by the General, that they all conſented to it, and ſo parted for that Night; only Dr. *Price*, who had a particular Zeal for any Enterprize that might determine in the King's Service, preſently after ſought out the General, whom he found diſcourſing with *Gradeen Ker*, a valiant *Scot*, that had formerly ſerv'd under the Marquiſs of *Montroſs*, and was alſo an expert Greyhound Maſter, which being a Diverſion the General much delighted in, it led him often both to his Acquaintance and Favour. Having ended his Conference with him, Dr. *Price* approach'd the General with ſome Earneſtneſs; telling him, they had enter'd upon their Deſign ſomewhat too late already, and that he fear'd all farther Delay would make it worſe. To whom the General reply'd with ſome Paſſion: *Our Buſineſs can receive no Prejudice by attending till the Arrival of the next Poſt, and would you needs be ſo haſty, as to bring my Neck to the Block for the King, and ruin the whole Deſign, by a too forward and unſeaſonable declaring.* Which being only an accidental *Remora*, we have thought fit to

mention

mention it in this Place, that the Reader may obſerve in what Dialect General *Monk* could talk, (even in thoſe early Days) when he was ſecure of thoſe that heard him.

XVI. THE next Morning the Poſt from *London* arrived early at *Edenburgh*, and brought the News of the utter Defeat of Sir *George Booth*, and his Party; who, with greater Faithfulneſs than good Fortune, had adventur'd to appear alone in that univerſal Inſurrection which was deſign'd.

XVII. UPON this News from *London*, General *Monk* was inwardly pleas'd with his own deliberate and wary Method of proceeding; being aſſur'd his expoſtulating with the Juncto, at the ſame time that Inſurrections were form'd againſt them in *England*, would have given them Cauſe to ſuſpect him as a Confederate in the Contrivance; and very well knowing this Defeat of Sir *George Booth* would raiſe, both in the Juncto and their Army, an extraordinary Confidence and Preſumption, he was reſolv'd for the preſent to put all his Paſſions in his Pocket, and wiſely diſſemble his Reſentment, till ſome better Opportunity for producing them ſhould offer it ſelf. Therefore the ſame Day he call'd for the Paper, which had been ſubſcrib'd the Evening before, and convening thoſe who

were privy to it, he burnt the Letter before them, conjuring them all to be faithful to their Oath of Secrecy.

XVIII. Now, could they have truſted each other, the Juncto and their Army might have carried all before them, and moſt Perſons of Eſtate and Fortune in *England* being concern'd in the late Inſurrection, had they made them away, (as was once propos'd among them) and ſeiz'd their Eſtates, it would ſhrewdly have weaken'd, if not extinguiſh'd the Royal Intereſt, and raiſed ſo vaſt a Sum of Money for the Payment of Debts, and the Continuance of their Army, as might have perpetuated the Uſurpation. But inſtead of this, the Juncto at *Weſtminſter* ſat towring themſelves in the high Imagination of their continued Power, after the Defeat of the deſigned Inſurrection againſt them, their Army the mean while wantonly pluming and trimming their Feathers at *Derby*, whither they were advanced after their Defeat of Sir *George Booth*. And having routed a Company of new rais'd Soldiers, and unarmed *Welſhmen*; they were as much tranſported with Pride and Vanity, as if they had fought the great Battle at *Arbela*, or utterly vanquiſh'd *Hannibal* and his Party in the Overthrow at *Metaurus*. But inſtead of purſuing the true Ends of their deſperate Intereſt, they fell to quarrelling

relling among themſelves. The Juncto and their Army knew ſo much Falſhood and Villany in each other, as it was not poſſible for them to hold long together. Their late Actions in diſabling their chief Officers from granting Commiſſions, had ſo leſſen'd their Power and Influence on the Army, as they were reſolv'd to take the firſt Opportunity to reſtore their military Authority to its former Grandeur. And becauſe *Lambert*'s conceal'd Ambition was moſt concern'd to obviate theſe Practices, and his Brigade, by this War of half an Hour, were moſt ſpiritted with Sourneſs and Arrogance againſt their Maſters at *Weſtminſter*; they were thought fitteſt to begin the Contrivance, which was preſently after abetted by the other Regiments remaining in and about *London*, under the Command of Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, with ſuch bold and inſolent Demands upon the Juncto, and ſuch pert Expoſtulations with them, together with a moſt unmannerly Oſtentation of their own Merits and Services, as muſt needs either leſſen the Authority of their Maſters, or end in a Rupture.

XIX. THE Juncto, that wanted not Cunning to introſpect theſe Deſigns of the Officers, were reſolv'd to make ſome further Alterations in the Government of the Army. And, on the other Side, the Commanders, both

both to ſtrengthen their Intereſt, and that the Junćto might have no other Force to retreat unto for Support, had diſpatched Letters to the Armies in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to gain Subſcriptions to their Repreſentation and Petition. They had deſign'd, in this their new Model, to wheadle General *Monk* with the Place of General of the Infantry; who yet look'd ſo far into their Reach and Deſigns, that, upon Receipt of theſe Letters and Papers, he forbad all under his Command to ſubſcribe to them, and return'd Anſwer to the Officers in *London*, that the Houſe having already declar'd their Diſlike of their Repreſentation, he was reſolv'd to keep his own Army in Obedience to the Authority of Parliament, and that ſeveral of his Officers were diſſatisfy'd with this their Way of Proceeding.

CHAP. X.

I. *Upon a thorough Conſideration within himſelf of the State of the King's Affairs, the General determines, for the preſent, to conceal his Deſign of ſerving him.* II. *He adviſes his Brother and Sir* John Greenvil *to concern themſelves no more in the*

the Affair; III. *Though he was not inwardly diſpleas'd with the Propoſal.* IV. *He receives Intelligence of a Rupture likely to enſue between the Parliament and the Army.* V. *Mr.* Monk *returns to* London, *and acquaints Sir* John Greenvil *with what had paſſed between him and the General, which is likewiſe communicated to the King by Sir* John. VI. *Delivers a Meſſage from the General to Commiſſary* Clarges, *that he would ſupport the Parliament.* VII. *Whereupon the Parliament voted, that no Taxes ſhould be rais'd without Conſent of Parliament, disbanded ſeveral Officers, and appointed Commiſſioners for the Government of the Army.* VIII. Lambert *immediately ſets a Guard upon the Parliament, to exclude the Junto.* IX. *And appoints a Committee of Safety.* X. *The General prepares to take Advantage of theſe Alterations in* England. XI. *And uſes the Authority of the Junto only as a Pretext.* XII. *The General's main Scheme ſupported by two Principles, that the Military muſt be ſubject to the Civil Power, and the preſent Form of Civil Authority muſt be Parliamentary.*

I. THE Interveniency of ſo many new Occurrences in *England*, had hitherto put a Stop to Mr. *Monk*'s Meſſage to the

General; who yet, all this while, gave that dangerous Affair a particular Place in his Thoughts and Retirement. He conſidered the King's Intereſt was now ſo very low, that he could receive no Acceſſion of Power from his Party; and by the Defeat of Sir *George Booth*, and of thoſe other deſign'd Inſurrections, all things were grown worſe. That to enter into a Treaty at this Time with the King would be as dangerous, as to declare for him; ſince there have never wanted falſe or needy Men about his Majeſty, by whom his Secrets had been hitherto betray'd. He forgat not how much he had been oblig'd by his Relations, the Family of the *Greenvils*; but being removed out of his Country, and from the Converſation of his Kindred, when he was very young; and himſelf and Sir *John Greenvil* having been engag'd on different Sides, and wholly Strangers to each other, he could not yet ſatisfy himſelf, whether he were a Perſon of Abilities and Secrecy enough to tranſact with in ſo difficult an Affair. And for his own Brother, he look'd upon an Employment of this Nature and Intricacy, as altogether foreign and unſuitable to a private Clergyman, that had been bred up among his Books and in Retirement. The Deſigns of reſtoring the King by Plots and Inſurrections, he had always eſteemed but as ſo many Toys that would come to nothing,

where

where raw and unexperienc'd Soldiers were to encounter with Regiments, that had been ſo long uſed to Arms and Victory. He was reſolv'd therefore at preſent, not to diſcover his Inclinations to the King's Service, till he could firſt ſee himſelf in ſuch a Station as would be able to ſupport him alone, and juſtify his Proceedings, without depending upon the acceſſory and contingent Aſſiſtances of others. The revealing alſo of this dangerous Meſſage to others beſide himſelf, was ſome Prejudice to the Succeſs of it. For though General *Monk* truſted Dr. *Price* as much as moſt of thoſe about him, yet he cared not to ſtand at any Man's Mercy, or Diſcretion for the concealing his Secrets. And having nothing but a Meſſage by Word of Mouth, and the King's Letter being left behind, it made him have the colder Aſpect upon the whole Buſineſs; which may eaſily be believ'd by thoſe that ſhall conſider, what Effects theſe Letters had ſeven Months after, when they came to be delivered in better Circumſtances.

II. BUT this Affair being for the preſent wholly laid aſide, that which puzzled the General's Thoughts moſt, was, the Care of concealing it. To that End he took the next Opportunity of diſcourſing privately with his Brother, adviſing him to follow his Studies, and the Care of his Living, and no more to

concern himſelf in publick Buſineſs; and that he ſhould carry this Advice to his Couſin *Greenvil*, not to meddle any more in ſuch dangerous Adventures; and conjuring them both to an entire Secrecy, he told his Brother with ſome Paſſion: *That if ever this Buſineſs were diſcovered by him, or Sir* John Greenvil, *he would do the beſt he could to ruin them both.*

III. By all theſe Paſſages the conſiderate Reader will eaſily diſcern, that General *Monk* was not ſo really diſpleas'd with the Propoſal made to him, as that it ſurpriz'd him in the midſt of ſo many unſeaſonable Circumſtances; ſo that his principal Care was, firſt to conceal his own Intentions from others, and next to oblige the Secrecy of thoſe that had been dealing with him.

IV. The General had all this while a particular Account, by Letters from *London*, of the Diſcontents riſen between the Parliament and the Army, which were likely to determine in a downright Quarrel. And being reſolved to make his Advantage of them both, he directed his Brother, now preparing for his Return into *England*, to find out Commiſſary *Clarges* ſo ſoon as he came to *London*, and deliver his Meſſage to him. And having given Mr. *Monk* ſuch Advice and Aſſiſtance

tance as was neceſſary for the beſtowing of his Daughter, he diſmiſs'd them both with a very particular Kindneſs.

V. Mr. NICHOLAS MONK took his Leave at *Dalkeith* about the 8th of *October*, intending to return the ſame Way he came, and Dr. *Price*, who, by this long Converſation with him, had a particular Eſteem for his Perſon, as well as his Meſſage, accompanied him and his Daughter to the Shore at *Leith*, where he took ſhipping for *London*, and arrived there about four Days after. He firſt found out Sir *John Greenvil*, and acquainted him with the whole Account of his Voyage to his Brother, and of all that paſs'd between them; aſſuring him that, at leaſt for the preſent, nothing could be expected from General *Monk*, with whom he had taken an Oath of Secrecy, about which he was not to be examin'd, but hoped good Effects of it would in due Time appear, and he was reſolv'd now to haſten home to his Family. Sir *John Greenvil* took the firſt Opportunity to acquaint his Majeſty and the Lord Chancellor *Hyde* at *Bruſſels* with this Account; which, coming to no farther Period, was laid aſide for the preſent, till we find it reſumed again in the Sequel of our Story. Oct. 8.

VI. THE

VI. The ſame Evening Mr. *Monk* coming to Commiſſary *Clarges*, he acquainted him with the General's Meſſage; by which he was directed to inform the Members of the Parliament, that if the Army in *London* continued in their Diſobedience towards them, he would aſſiſt them therein, and if things ſhould run into farther Extremity, he would be in Readineſs to march his Army into *England* in Defence of them.

VII. The next Morning early Commiſſary *Clarges* acquainted ſome of the leading Members with the Meſſage from General *Monk*; which being communicated to the reſt, had a preſent Effect both upon their Spirits and Counſels. They were dogged and angry enough before at the Inſolence of their Servants; but now ſomething of Bravery and Diſdain began to ſparkle in their Diſpleaſure. Inſomuch that the old Senators adventured now to ruffle with their Colonels; being reſolv'd that if they muſt leave their ſoft Seats, they would firſt empty out the Feathers. They had already diſcharg'd the Commonwealth from all Taxes, otherwiſe than by Conſent in Parliament: Now they paſs'd a brisk Vote, to ſtrike eight or nine of the moſt daring Colonels off the Tally, and vacated their Commiſſions, (*viz. Lambert, Desborow,*

Desborow, *Berry*, *Kelsey*, *Ashfield*, *Cobbet*, *Packer*, *Creed* and *Barrow*.) And then dissolving the present Constitution of the Army, they pass'd an Act for the appointing seven Commissioners to take the Charge of it, (*viz. Fleetwood*, *Monk*, *Hazlerig*, *Ludlow*, *Morley*, *Walton*, and *Overton*,) who were to enter upon their Trust from the 7th of this present *October*, and to continue till the 22d of *February* following.

VIII. THESE nimble Proceedings of the Junto put the discarded Officers and their Party into some Disorder; who thereupon resolv'd to venture at all, before these new Commissioners should have any Time to settle their Interest or Authority over the Soldiers. The next Morning therefore very early, *Lambert*, having gotten together such Force as he had at Hand, possess'd himself of all the Avenues to the Parliament House, and excluded the eminent Assertors of the good old Cause from further meeting there. In whose Room a Combination of the Army-Officers had presently in Readiness another new Device to succeed, which they call'd a *Committee of Safety*. *Oct.* 13.

IX. THEY who soberly observed the Falshood and Hypocrisy, the Folly and Madness, of these boisterous Colonels, did believe them

poſſeſs'd with more Devils than one, having, in ſix Months Time, ſhifted three Governments, and ſet up another Idol and Scheme of Government, that was not likely to outlaſt two Moons.

X. Ever ſince the Death of *Oliver Cromwel*, General *Monk* expected nothing elſe than a ſucceſſive Series of extravagant Alterations in *England*, which he hoped might give him Opportunity of obliging his Country; and therefore more narrowly inſpected the Temper and Inclinations of his Officers and Army. And though he was a Perſon naturally provident, yet of late Years he was more careful than before, in taking the Accounts of the Treaſury of War, and in keeping good Store of Money in *Bank*, of which he had ſeventy thouſand Pounds, beſides what was in other Hands. The Magazines alſo of Arms and Ammunition in *Scotland* were very well ſupply'd.

XI. The General very well knew this Juncto which the Army had diſturbed, were People neither to be endured nor truſted; therefore he was reſolved to make uſe of them, and their Intereſt, no further than as a Pretext to oppreſs the inſolent Deſigns of the *Engliſh* Army, and afterwards to lay aſide our Juncto alſo.

XII. AND here we will ſeaſonably acquaint the Reader, with the two declared Principles of General *Monk*, which he had framed with that popular Appearance and plauſible Aſpect, as they became the Baſis of all his Proceedings. And though he was ſometimes forc'd to ſail by different Winds, yet he ſtill kept himſelf ſteady to theſe two Points. One was, *That the Government could not be ſupported but by an entire Subjection of the Military Power in Obedience to the Civil:* The other, *That the preſent Conſtitution of the Commonwealth was to be adminiſter'd by Parliaments.*

WITH theſe two Principles, prudently managed, he was ſure to have always a Game to play in all publick Alterations. By the firſt he had contriv'd to awe or oppoſe the Extravagancies of the Army in *England.* And by improving the other to ſucceſſive Elections, he was not without Hope, but that at one Time or other ſuch a Parliament might happen to be choſen, as would be willing to reſtore the Monarchy. And that he was ſtill aiming at this Contrivance, will appear both by his Letter to the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and by his Inſtructions given to his Commiſſioners at the following Treaty; by his Deſign of diſſolving the Juncto, and by Admiſſion of the ſecluded Members, in order

to a new and full Parliament. Beſides, the uſual Emulation and Jealouſies which ſo frequently happen among thoſe that command Armies; the Temper and Principle of General *Monk*, and the chief Officers in *England*, was wholly incompatible. Nor is it eaſy to ſay, whether he did more hate or deſpiſe them, knowing himſelf ſuperior to them in all the Arts of War and Conduct. And tho' he abhorr'd the Thought of aſſuming the Government himſelf; yet he greatly diſdain'd that *Lambert*, or any other, ſhould dare to attempt it, whilſt himſelf had a Sword in his Hand.

CHAP. XI.

I. *General* Monk *receives Intelligence of the Proceedings of* Lambert *and his Party.* II. *Begins his March into* England, *having firſt made a Speech to his Army.* III. *Sends Captain* Johnſon *to ſecure* Berwick, *Captains* Berry *and* Hall *to* Edenburgh, *whither he himſelf follows, taking up all diſaffected Officers in thoſe, and other remoter Garriſons.* V. *Marches to* Leith *and* Linlithgow, *from whence, after having made ſome Regulations, he returns to* Eden-

Edenburgh. VI. *A Character of Dr.* Gumble. VII. *Colonel* Cobbet *is ſent to* Scotland *by the Committee of Officers, to cauſe Diviſion in General* Monk's *Army; but Captain* Johnſon *carries him Priſoner to* Edenburgh. VIII. *A more particular Account of* Cobbet's *Deſigns, with ſome other Indignities from the* Engliſh *Army, which the General reſents.* IX. *The General publiſhes a Declaration: The Subſtance of it.* X. *Writes to* Fleetwood *and* Lambert; *to* Lenthall *the Speaker, and to the Independent Churches.* XI. *As alſo to the Forces in* Ireland, *deſiring their Aſſiſtance.* XII. *And to the Fleet, both which refuſe to join with him.* XIII. *The General's Reſolution.*

I. THE News of interrupting the pretend- Oct. 17.
ed Parliament by *Lambert* and his Party, came to *Dalkeith* by the next Poſt, and was no Surprizal upon General *Monk*, who expected no leſs; and therefore was before-hand reſolv'd how to go to work with them. For the ſame Minute he receiv'd the Intelligence, he communicated his Reſolution to ſuch Officers as were then about him, and preſently diſpatch'd away Adjutant *Smith* to *Edenburgh* and *Leith*, commanding the Officers of both thoſe Garriſons, which were within five Miles of him, to attend him pre-

ſently at *Dalkeith*; where he acquainted them with his Reſolution of marching into *England*, to reſtore the Parliament: Unto all which they unanimouſly aſſented. And the ſame Night he commanded, that no Poſt ſhould paſs for *England*, to give Account of his Preparation, till he were further advanced. The Citadels of *St. Johnſtons* and *Ayr* were both important Places; but at a conſiderable Diſtance from *Dalkeith*. And General *Monk* had no great Opinion of the Perſons that commanded them in chief: He had therefore ſent for Captain *Witter* of the one, and Captain *Robinſon* of the other, being Officers he had ſome Confidence in, who were both of them with him at *Dalkeith*, when the News came of the Interruption upon the Parlia-
Oct. 18. ment. The next Morning therefore he diſpatch'd them both with Inſtructions to ſecure thoſe two Citadels, with Authority alſo to impriſon ſuch Officers or others as ſhould diſſent or oppoſe them therein: Which was ſome Days after effectually perform'd by Captain *Robinſon* at *Ayr*, and Captain *Witter* at *St. Johnſtons*.

II. In the Afternoon General *Monk*, being attended with his Guards at *Dalkeith*, marched to *Edenburgh*; where were quarter'd only two Regiments of Foot, one whereof was his own, the other Colonel *Talbot*'s, who was then

then abſent at *London*. And having ſecured or diſcarded ſuch Officers as he diſtruſted, and placed others in their Room, he told them at the Head of the Regiments then drawn up, *That the Army in* England *had broken up the Parliament, out of a reſtleſs and ambitious Humour to govern all themſelves, and to hinder the Settlement of the Nation. That their next Practice would be to impoſe their inſolent Extravagancies upon the Army in* Scotland, *that was neither inferior nor ſubordinate to them. For his own Part, he thought himſelf obliged, by the Duty of his Place, to keep the Military Power in Obedience to the Civil; and that ſince they had receiv'd their Pay and Commiſſion from the Parliament, it was their Duty to defend them; in which he expected the ready Obedience of them all: But if any did declare their Diſſent to his Reſolution, they ſhould have Liberty to leave the Service, and might take Paſſes to be gone.*

III. THIS was ſpoken with the Authority and Spirit of a General, and without Diſguiſe or Artifice, but was receiv'd with the univerſal Shout and Submiſſion of the Regiments. The ſame Evening retiring to his Quarters, it was deliberated by the General, and Officers about him, of how much Importance it would be to ſecure *Berwick*. He was well enough

aſſur'd of the Fidelity of Colonel *Meers*, who commanded the Garriſon. But the reſt of the Officers were Anabaptiſts, in whom he could have no Confidence, and which were a ſort of Vermin, which he was now reſolv'd to worm out of his Army. The ſame Night therefore he diſpatch'd away Captain *Johnſon* with a Party of Horſe, to aſſiſt the Governor in ſecuring the Place, with Orders alſo to bring off with him all unquiet and diſaffected Officers.

IV. At the ſame Time there were attending at *Edenburgh*, Captain *Derry* and Captain *Hall*, who commanded in Colonel *Cobbet*'s Regiment at *Glaſcow*, and had receiv'd Orders to march the Regiment to *Edenburgh*, and ſecure the Officers that diſſented. The Colonel was then at *London*, and the two Captains perform'd their Inſtructions. And before General *Monk* left *Edenburgh*, he ſent for ſeveral ſuſpected Officers, who commanded in remoter Garriſons, to attend him there, who, at their Arrival, were ſecured in the Caſtle of *Edenburgh*, and their Commiſſions granted to ſuch as he could better truſt. The Regiments at *Aberdeen* were ſecured by Colonel *Fairfax* the Governor. And Colonel *Rhead* was made Governor of *Inverneſs*, and ordered to ſend three of his beſt Companies to the General at *Edenburgh*. And having

ing thus ſettled the remoter Garriſons by ſuch Officers as he eſteem'd moſt faithful to him, the nearer were diſpoſed of by himſelf.

V. HAVING ſtay'd two Days at *Eden-burgh*, he march'd to the Citadel of *Leith*, where was lodg'd a conſiderable Part of the Stores; and having diſplaced moſt of the Anabaptiſt Officers, he intruſted Mr. *Hughes* with the Command of that Place. The next Day he paſſed to *Linlithgow*; and having ſatisfy'd himſelf in the Settlement of that Garriſon, he return'd again to *Edenburgh*. Oct. 20. 21.

VI. WHERE he had much Conference with Dr. *Gumble*, who was Preacher to the Council of State, and by that Employment, and his continual Reſidence at the capital City, (beſides his own forward Inclination) he had a very intimate Acquaintance with, and ſome Influence upon, moſt of the Officers; ſo that General *Monk*, who very well knew how to chuſe his Inſtruments, had of late admitted him to ſeveral of his Counſels. He had formerly been Vicar of *Wickham* in *Buckinghamſhire*, in which Town Mr. *Scot* had lived, and was Burgeſs for that Place. By Mr. *Scot*'s Intereſt he was thought to have been preferr'd to this Employment in *Scotland*, where he kept always an exact Correſpondence with him, and others of the Party, being

ing a very zealous Commonwealth's Man, inſomuch as he could not conceal his Diſcontents againſt the Uſurpation of *Cromwel*, and his Son, in ſetting up the Government of a ſingle Perſon. The General having reſolved (as the beſt Expedient at preſent) to juſtify his quarrelling with the *Engliſh* Army, by declaring to reſtore the Commonwealth Parliament, made very great Uſe of Dr. *Gumble*, to repreſent his Deſigns advantagiouſly to Mr. *Scot*, who was a leading Man among them, and a Preſident to their Council of State; and alſo to inſpirit the Officers and Soldiers of *Scotland* to a Compliance with the Reſolution of their General. In both which Particulars he did him very great Service; and in this Affair of reſtoring the Parliament, Dr. *Gumble* was ſo intent and earneſt in all Diſcourſe with the General and others, that ſome of the Officers thought him the firſt Promoter of the Deſign againſt the Army in *England*. And others, that diſſented, wrote in their Letters to their Party in *London*, that *Gumble* was the grand Incendiary, in provoking General *Monk* to this Reſolution. The General, who knew the Suſpicions that were upon him, was very well pleas'd with this Apprehenſion they had taken up among them, being willing they ſhould believe any thing the Cauſe of theſe Proceedings rather than the true one.

VII. A-

VII. ABOUT this Time Captain *Johnſon* (whom we mention'd before) returned to the General from *Berwick*, where he had aſſiſted Colonel *Meers* in ſettling the Garriſon, and impriſoning the diſſenting Officers. But before they had fully done their Buſineſs, Colonel *Cobbet* arrived from *London* thither, in his Way to *Glaſcow*, where his Regiment was quarter'd. He was haſten'd down by the Committee of Officers in *London*, to diſpoſe the Army under General *Monk* to a Compliance with their Deſigns, and to oppoſe or ſecure ſuch Perſons as diſſented; being a ſtout and active Man, and of very great Intereſt in the Army. So ſoon as he came to *Berwick*, he began to be very buſy in declaring againſt General *Monk*'s Proceedings, and to remonſtrate againſt them: So that the Officers there (notwithſtanding all his buſtling) took the Boldneſs to lay him faſt; and Captain *Johnſon* had now brought him Priſoner (with the other Malecontents of that Garriſon) to *Edenburgh*; where they were all ſecur'd in the Caſtle.

VIII. GENERAL *Monk* was well pleas'd with this Service of Major *Johnſon*, in preſerving a Place ſo important to his further Deſigns, and in ſecuring ſo dangerous a Perſon as Colonel *Cobbet*; having before receiv'd, from

from his Intelligencer at *London*, the Advice of his coming, and the Instructions he had from *Wallingford-House*, to make Disturbances and Parties in the *Scotch* Army, and to improve his Interest so far amongst the Soldiers, as to seize the General himself if he did not comply with their Actions. This Design upon him, before they could possibly know any thing of his dissenting, did greatly provoke the General, both against them and their Officers at *London*, and their Instrument *Cobbet*: Besides some other of their little Affronts which they had put upon him, in their last Letters, when they desired Subscription in the *Scotch* Army to their Representation. They had cajol'd General *Monk* with the Offer of General of the Infantry over all the Forces in the Army; but in their new Model, since their Interruption of the Juncto, they had taken no Notice of him. Though he was not desirous to receive any new Obligation of Kindness from those he was resolv'd to quarrel with, yet he resented the Indignity, being as dextrous in dissembling Affronts that were put upon him, as he was sure to remember and requite them.

IX. The General being by this Time gotten somewhat before-hand in his Business, by settling and securing so many of the nearer Garrisons and Regiments; it was next deliberated

rated by him and his Council of Officers, to give the Nation an Account of this their Proceeding, by a publick Declaration. The Substance whereof was: *That they had now taken Arms only to defend the Freedom and Privilege of Parliaments, and to vindicate the Rights and Liberties of the People againſt all Oppoſition whatſoever.* This was accordingly printed at *Edenburgh*, and diſperſed through *Scotland* and *England*.

X. BUT at the ſame Time ſome of thoſe that had conſented to follow their General in theſe Proceedings, began to be afraid of making ſo wide a Breach between the two Armies; and therefore propos'd to the General, that he would endeavour to rectify theſe Miſtakes and Prejudices between both the Armies, by writing firſt to the principal Officers in *London*. They who beſt underſtood the Intereſt of the Army in *Scotland*, did greatly diſlike the Propoſal; but, in their preſent State of Affairs it was not ſafe to decline that Method, ſo much to the Diſcontent or Suſpicion of thoſe who were Authors of it. Letters therefore were agreed to be drawn up to *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*, in which the General, expoſtulating their Violence to the Parliament, declar'd his own, and the unanimous Reſolution of the Army under his Command, to aſſert their Authority. At the ſame Time other

other Letters were alſo written to Mr. *Lenthall*, the Speaker of the late Parliament, to acquaint him, that if the Interruption did continue, he ſhould be ready with his Army to reſtore them to their Seſſion, according to the Duty of his Place. And becauſe ſeveral of his Officers that adher'd to him, were Members of Independent Congregations in *England*, it was thought fit by the ſame Meſſenger, to ſatisfy that Intereſt in the Juſtice of their Quarrel; aſſuring them by a Letter: *That they had no Contention with the Army in* England *relating to Religion, or any religious Perſuaſion; that their ſpiritual Liberties ſhould not be violated by him, or his Army; but that he was in Duty obliged to ſupport the Authority of Parliaments, againſt the ambitious Practices of the Army in* England. A Copy of the Letter to the Speaker, and of thoſe alſo to *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*, were preſently after put to the Preſs at *Edenburgh*. But the other to the Independent Churches, being againſt the Grain of the Presbyterian Methods in *Scotland*, was ordered to be printed at *London*.

XI. GENERAL *Monk* having diſpatch'd away a Meſſenger with theſe Letters to *London*, was in the Interim careful to ſtrengthen his Intereſt, by the Acceſſion of other remote Correſpondencies. To that End he wrote Letters

Letters to the Forces in *Ireland*, repreſenting the Juſtneſs and Neceſſity of his Proceedings againſt the *Engliſh* Army, and deſiring their Aſſiſtance with him in reſtoring the Parliament; from whom he receiv'd a very cold and diſſenting Anſwer.

XII. At the ſame Time there was a good Fleet riding in the *Downs*, commanded by Vice-Admiral *Lawſon*, from whom he might, with much Confidence, expect a Compliance; having been, ſome Years ſince, their Admiral in the fortunate War againſt the *Dutch*, and had left them with an extraordinary Memory and high Eſtimation of his Bravery and Courage. But the Officers at *London* had beforehand, by their Agents, done his Buſineſs ſo effectually, by miſrepreſenting his Intentions, that the Fleet was reſolv'd to ſtand off, till they were further ſatisfy'd in the Clearneſs of his Deſigns. The like Anſwers he receiv'd from Colonel *Overton*, then Governor of *Hull*, and ſome other Garriſons in *England*, who were content to become Interceſſors between him and the *Engliſh* Officers for an Agreement; but would not otherwiſe be concern'd in the Quarrel.

XIII. No Man, except General *Monk*, could happily have kept his Thoughts ſteady and reſolute in the midſt of ſo many croſs Accidents,

Accidents, which took him in the very Beginning of his Designs. But being only to form his own Army into an exact Obedience to himself; he was very much assur'd, if he could not be in a Capacity to invade *England*, yet his Enemies should never be able to force him out of *Scotland:* Having resolv'd to raise the Kingdom in Arms, and to entrust the Nobility and Gentry of that Nation, before he would take a Baffle from them.

CHAP. XII.

I. *The Effect of his Letters, the Army in* England *under a great Consternation.* II. *They send Commissary* Clarges *and Colonel* Talbot *to treat with General* Monk. III. Newcastle *secured for the Committee of Safety, by Colonel* Lilburn. IV. *Which proved an Advantage to the General.* V. *Commissary* Clarges *and Colonel* Talbot *arrive at* Edenburgh. VI. *Commissary* Clarges *privately informs the General, of the ill Condition of those who sent him; however, to gain Time for bringing together his distant Forces,* VII. *The General consents to a Treaty between the two Armies, and appoints Commissioners.* VIII. *Gives his*

Commissioners some private Instructions. IX. *The Council of Officers at* London *prepare for a War.* X. Lambert *marches into the North.* XI. *Meets with General* Monk's *Commissioners at* York, *and treats with them, but without coming to any Agreement.* XII. Lambert *sends a Message to General* Monk *by Major General* Morgan. XIII. *Who, at the same time, privately delivers a Message from the Lord* Fairfax *to the General.* XIV. Fleetwood *also writes privately a civil Letter to the General.* XV. *A Letter of Thanks from the independent Congregations in* London *to the General,* XVI. *Carried by two of their Pastors, and two Colonels: Their Behaviour and Reception.* XVII. *Fresh Endeavours to raise Sedition among the General's Soldiers.* XVIII. *The General's great Care to prevent it.* XIX. *He appoints a special Committee of Officers for the receiving and dispatching Messengers.*

I. ABOUT *October* 28. his Messenger arrived with the Letters at *London*, which had all of them the very same Effect that General *Monk* expected. For the Junto were thereupon contriving to make Parties in the Army that might distract their Councils. But *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*, and their Com- *Oct.* 28.

mittee of Safety, were greatly ſurpriz'd at the Receipt of theſe Letters. And being farther inform'd by his Meſſenger, (who was ill choſen for that Employment) how far General *Monk* had proceeded in modelling his Army and Officers to a Compliance with his Deſigns, and the Influences he had over them; that he had clapt up Colonel *Cobbet* ſo ſoon as he arriv'd, and ſecur'd or caſhier'd one hundred and forty of his diſtruſted Officers; they began to think they had taken wrong Meaſures with him, and were merely impos'd upon by the fooliſh Perſuaſion of thoſe who aſſur'd them, that the *Scotch* Army would not be brought to engage againſt their Brethren in *England*; and that, though it were believ'd General *Monk* would not comply with the Officers at *London*, yet he wanted Intereſt enough in his Army to lead them his own Way. And they knew him ſo well, that if he could fix his Army to a Submiſſion and Dependance upon him, he had Courage and Conduct enough to give them more Trouble than all the Enemies they had yet met with.

II. They had therefore no mind to enter into a down-right War with General *Monk*; but, upon farther Conſultation, it was reſolv'd to attempt him by a Treaty; in Hopes to bring off the General himſelf, or at leaſt ſome

ſome of his Officers, to unite with them. Very late therefore the ſame Evening they ſent for Commiſſary *Clarges*, and Colonel *Talbot*, who had a Foot Regiment then quarter'd in *Edenburgh*, to attend them preſently at the Council, then ſitting in *White-Hall*. Where they inform'd them, that they had receiv'd Letters from General *Monk*; by which it did appear, their Proceedings in *London* had been miſrepreſented to him; that there were ſome evil Inſtruments about him, which had endeavoured to create Jealouſies between the chief Officers in the two Armies, and (againſt the Intereſt of both) to engage them in a War, or Diſtruſt of each other. And having given them farther Inſtructions how to manage their Meſſage with the General, and his Officers, they commanded them both to haſten their Journey to him; being ſo nettled with the Buſineſs, that they allow'd them but three Hours Time to make ready for ſo long a Voyage. But if General *Monk* had choſen an ill Meſſenger to carry his Letter to *London*, theſe Officers had more groſſly miſtaken themſelves, in ſending theſe two Perſons, eſpecially the Commiſſary, on their Errand into *Scotland*. Oct. 28.

III. BUT leaving theſe Gentlemen in procinct of their haſty Journey, we will paſs before them again into the North, where we

ſhall find General *Monk* buſied in the farther modelling of his Army. And becauſe he would have Paſſes enough for his own Motions, or for the Acceſſion of ſuch Parties as he hop'd might riſe for him in *England*, he was reſolv'd to ſecure the two grand Avenues into *Scotland*. To that End he had before ſent Major *Dean* with a Party of Horſe to ſecure *Carliſle*, who fail'd in the Attempt: And had now commanded Colonel *Knight* with four Troops of Horſe, and Major *Miller* with ſix Foot Companies, to ſurprize *Newcaſtle*. But having marched as far as *Morpeth*, they receiv'd Intelligence, that Colonel *Lilburn* had prevented their Deſign upon *Newcaſtle*; and had already entered the Town with a Party, reſolving to keep it for the Committee of Safety. This Perſon was quartered at *York*, and ſo ſoon as he heard of General *Monk*'s Proceedings in *Scotland*, was very buſy in the North to contrive againſt him. For beſides the Contradiction of their different Aims and Principles, *Lilburn* had an old Grudge againſt General *Monk*, ever ſince he was thought the abler Man to ſucceed him in the Command of *Scotland*, of which we have given an Account before. But ſo ſoon as General *Monk* had received Advice, that *Lilburn* had poſſeſs'd *Newcaſtle*, he diſpatch'd Orders to Colonel *Knight* and Ma-

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jor *Miller*, to proceed no farther; but, for the preſent, to retreat to *Alnwick*.

IV. NOT long after, General *Monk* found his own good Fortune, in miſſing this Place: Which, being a Frontier Town, would haply have been beſieg'd by *Lambert*, before the General could have been in Readineſs to have march'd for the Relief of it: ſo that either he would have been enforc'd to enter upon Action before he had been prepared, or to have expos'd thoſe Troops and Companies, which were ſome of the choiceſt Men of his Army, and greatly devoted to his Service; and the Officers, ſuch as had given the moſt early Experiment of their Fidelity.

V. ABOUT the 2d of *November*, the fore- *Nov.* 2. mentioned Meſſengers from the Council of Officers, Commiſſary *Clarges* and Colonel *Talbot*, arrived at *Edenburgh*; and upon Delivery of their Meſſage, General *Monk* preſently perceiv'd the Officers in *London* did rather fear than deſpiſe him; ſince they had taken the Trouble of ſending Agents on purpoſe ſo far, to compliment him into a better Opinion of their Proceedings, and to procure a Treaty.

VI. THE General had much ſecret Diſcourſe with Commiſſary *Clarges*, whoſe coming was

very ſeaſonable to him, being able to give him a very good Account of the Condition of thoſe who ſent him. By whom he was aſſured, that they were jealous of each other, and in ſuch want of Money, as they could not take up a few Weeks Pay for the ſetting forth the Army, which they were preparing to ſend down into the North. General *Monk* very well knew he had already proceeded farther, than was poſſible to be made up by a Treaty; that the Officers in *England* would never truſt him, and he was reſolv'd to have no farther Confidence in them: So that a Treaty could produce no good, nor did he intend it ſhould. But becauſe his own Officers might be better ſatisfied with the Equity and Temper of his Proceedings; and eſpecially in regard a great Part of his Army was not yet fix'd and ſettled to his mind, and ſome of them were more than two hundred Miles apart; which would take Time both to inform the Officers, and to march thoſe far diſtant Parties to a Rendezvous; he found it his own Intereſt and Convenience (for the gaining farther Leiſure) to conſent to a Treaty.

VII. The next Morning therefore, at a Council of Officers, the General acquainted them with the Meſſage he had receiv'd from *London:* That the Officers there were deſirous of a Treaty, to adjuſt the Apprehenſions and

and Jealouſies between the two Armies, which was readily aſſented to by the Council of Officers; and that three Perſons ſhould be choſen among them for this Employment. But they were ſo civil towards their General, and confident in his Prudence, that they would refer the Nomination to himſelf; who therefore propos'd Colonel *Knight* and Colonel *Clobery*, and, in Requital of their Reſpect, left it to the Officers to appoint a third Perſon, who then choſe Colonel *Wilks*.

VIII. THESE Commiſſioners were diſpatched away with all convenient Speed, having receiv'd their publick Inſtructions from the Council of Officers. But before they took Leave of the General, he gave them alſo private Directions of his own, which they were particularly oblig'd to purſue, *viz.* beſides treating with the Officers in *London*, they were to uſe all the Art they could, to inſpect the different Aims and Intereſts that were among them, not to oblige themſelves to the ſet Time, to which they were confin'd by the Council of Officers, but rather to protract it, if they found Cauſe. But in a moſt particular Manner they were charged not to conſent to any Agreement, otherwiſe than by reſtoring the late Parliament; but if that Point could not poſſibly be gain'd, then that a new one

ſhould be choſen by the People. For General *Monk* very well knew, there was no dealing with them, if he could not bring the *Engliſh* Army to acknowledge ſome Authority ſuperior to themſelves: And if they could be brought to ſubmit to a Parliament freely choſen, which would be ſure to oppoſe them, he ſhould then never want Opportunity or Intereſt to make himſelf their Match. He was now growing old in Armour, having turn'd the Shadow of his fiftieth Year, being in the Maturity of his Judgment and Experience, and was as much their Superior in the Methods of War, as in the Juſtneſs of his Cauſe.

IX. But the General Council of Officers in *London*, though they had ſent down their Meſſengers, Commiſſary *Clarges* and Colonel *Talbot*, to procure a Treaty, yet, being doubtful of the Event, were reſolv'd to ſecond the Deſign for Peace, with Preparation to a War, in Caſe General *Monk* ſhould prove reſtive or incomplaiſant.

X. To this End Major General *Lambert* (who had contriv'd this Expedition in the laſt Stage of his Ambition) was order'd to march toward the North, with ſuch Forces as could be ſpar'd out of the City, which were to be compleated with the Addition of thoſe Regiments,

ments, that, after the Defeat of Sir *George Booth*, were quarter'd toward the Northern Counties. Their Succeſs in *Cheſhire* four Months before, had rais'd in them ſuch an extraordinary Vanity and Confidence, that they did not conſider they were now to encounter another Sort of Warfare, and another kind of General.

XI. MAJOR General *Lambert* advanc'd preſently with his Forces towards the North, and at *York* met the Commiſſioners of the Treaty in their Way to *London*; and was willing to have ſpar'd them the Trouble of a longer Journey, aſſuring them, that he had brought with him Powers from the Committee of Safety, and the Council of Officers, to treat with them, and to compoſe the Differences. But when they came to enter upon the Buſineſs, the Commiſſioners would aſſent to nothing, till it was firſt agreed, that the late Parliament ſhould be reſtored. This was a Point which *Lambert* (who had diſſolv'd the Juncto) could leaſt of all aſſent to, and was reſolv'd againſt; and therefore pretending he had no inſtructions to treat of it, the Commiſſioners were permitted to go on their Journey. Only it was here agreed, that, during the Treaty, neither of their Armies ſhould advance from their ſeveral Quarters, and that no Act of Hoſtility ſhould paſs between them,

nor

nor any Interruption upon Letters or Meſſengers.

XII. In this Place Major General *Lambert* found Major General *Morgan*, then recovering from a long Fit of the Gout, by which he had been ſome Time diſabled from returning to his Command in *Scotland*. But now having in good Meaſure got off from the Arreſt of his Gout, he was afraid of a worſe Confinement; and therefore prudently diſſembled his Opinion of General *Monk*'s Proceedings; inſomuch as *Lambert*, upon Conference with him, thought him a very fit Perſon to promote his Deſign in *Scotland*, where he was Major General to the Army; and of ſo particular a Credit with General *Monk*, and Intereſt among the Soldiers, that it was hop'd he would be able, either to incline the General to an Agreement, or to draw off a good Part of his Army from him. The next Day therefore he began his Journey to *Edenburgh*, where he attended the General about the
Nov. 8. 8th of *November*, being ſome few Days after the Arrival of Commiſſary *Clarges*, and Colonel *Talbot*. So ſoon as he came, he publickly gave General *Monk* an Account of his Meſſage from *Lambert*, deſiring his Compliance with the Army in *England*. To which it was anſwered, that if the Parliament were reſtored again, he had no farther Quarrel;

Quarrel: but without it there could be no Agreement.

XIII. In the Evening *Morgan* found Opportunity of private Diſcourſe with the General, and deliver'd to him a Letter from Mr. *Bowles*, a Preacher in *York*, and a particular Agent intruſted by the Lord *Fairfax*, aſſuring him, his Lordſhip, and other Perſons of Quality in the Country, would be willing to join with him againſt the Army in *England*, if, inſtead of reſtoring that Piece of a Parliament, (which was interupted the 13th of *October* laſt) he would conſent to the Admiſſion alſo of the formerly ſecluded Members, or to the calling of a new Repreſentative. The General ſaid little hereunto; but then reſolv'd that Commiſſary *Clarges* ſhould, in his Return to *London*, viſit Mr. *Bowles*, and ſatisfy him a little in thoſe Particulars. And upon farther Diſcourſe together, Major General *Morgan* was ſo fully ſatisfy'd in the Juſtice of the General's Proceedings, that, though he had taken the Pains to bring *Lambert*'s Meſſage, yet did not think himſelf oblig'd to carry back the Anſwer, being preſently commanded by the General, together with Adjutant *Smith*, to march to the ſeveral Horſe-Quarters, and to model thoſe Troops according to Inſtruction.

THE Preſence and Uſefulneſs of Major General *Morgan* was now ſo ſeaſonable, that he look'd on this ſingle Perſon as a Balance againſt thoſe one hundred and forty Officers, that had left his Service, or had been caſhier'd.

XIV. ABOUT this Time Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, though he had diſpatch'd away Commiſſary *Clarges*, and Colonel *Talbot*, by Conſent of the Council of Officers, to procure a Treaty and Agreement; yet ſome few Days after, he thought fit to ſend Letters to General *Monk* by a private Meſſenger of his own. Before this Time he had entertain'd ſome Apprehenſion of *Lambert*'s Ambition, and therefore was reſolv'd to procure (if poſſible) a good Underſtanding with General *Monk*, by whoſe Friendſhip or Conjunction he ſhould be always able to obviate or balance the Deſigns of the other. To this End he ſent down Mr. *Dean*, who was one of the Treaſurers of the Army, with a very kind Letter and Propoſals to General *Monk*, which though they came to no Effect, yet the General eaſily diſcern'd all was not right among themſelves. This Meſſenger's Demeanour and Action in *Scotland*, was very much reſented in the Army: For in his Way through their Quarters, he was ſtill diſtributing Tickets to ſeduce the Soldiers from their Obedience.

ence. He was very well received by the General at the Head Quarters; yet had the Insolence to talk indecently to him at his own Table, charging him with Designs of introducing *Charles Stuart*; or if he did not design it, yet the Division he had already made between the two Armies, would certainly bring him in. Dr. *Price* was one Morning standing at the Head of a Foot-Company in *Edenburgh*, where this Mr. *Dean* pass'd by, and told them: *My Lord* Lambert *is coming upon you with such a Force, as all General* Monk's *Army will scarce make one Breakfast for him.* But a stout Soldier return'd this surly answer: *That the cold Weather had gotten* Lambert *a very good Stomach, if he could eat their Swords and Pikes, and swallow their Bullets.* But the General presently after gave him Answer, and dismiss'd him, not without some Reflection upon the Insolence of his Carriage and Deportment.

XV. And now the Messengers that procured the Treaty, Commissary *Clarges* and Colonel *Talbot*, having receiv'd their Instructions, return'd back for *London*. But the one fell into *Lambert's* Army, and continued there; the other went on towards *York*, having Direction from the General to treat farther with Mr. *Bowles*, and to leave with him the General's Letter directed to the Lord *Fairfax*; and

and had alſo Orders to ſettle other Correſpondencies in his Way to *London*. We have before given Account of the Letter which General *Monk*, (in Compliance with ſuch Officers of his Army, as were of that Perſuaſion) had ſent to the Independent Congregations in *London*; ſome whereof were ſo ſenſible of his Reſpect towards them, in giving them the Account of his Actions, and declaring for their Liberty, that they thought themſelves oblig'd to return him Thanks by Meſſengers of their own. Others of them that were more crafty and deſigning, had a farther Reach in this Contrivance. They were moſt concern'd for the Power and Intereſt of the *Engliſh* Army; and therefore were reſolv'd, by this Opportunity of ſending into *Scotland*, if General *Monk* and the reſt ſhould prove immoveable, to draw off their own Party there to a Compliance with the Army in *London*.

XVI. To this Employment were choſen two Paſtors of their Churches, Mr. *Caryl*, a Perſon of Learning and Gravity, and Mr. *Barker*. There were alſo join'd with them, two Colonels of that Communion, *Whalley* and *Goff*; and when they came to *Newcaſtle*, their Company was increaſed by the Addition of Mr. *Hammond*, Preacher to a Congregation there, a ſevere Zealot of the ſame Way. The two Miniſters were to effect an Agree-

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ment betwen the two Armies; whilſt the two Colonels, being upon this Occaſion admitted into the Head-Quarters, ſhould practiſe upon the inferior Officers, who, together with Mr. *Hammond*, were much accus'd for ſeveral very ill Contrivances during their Reſidence there. But after ſeveral Conferences, which did rather incenſe the General, than perſuade him; General *Monk* gave them ſuch Reaſons for his Reſolution to oppoſe the *Engliſh* Army, that the Meſſengers of Independency took their Leave of him, hoping his own Commiſſioners would be more fortunate in concluding the Agreement in *London*, which themſelves could not begin at *Edenburgh*.

XVII. GENERAL *Monk* had no ſooner diſmiſs'd theſe Importunities upon him from abroad, but he was encounter'd with new Diſturbances at home. For though he had impriſon'd ſome of thoſe Officers whom he had diſplac'd, or who had deſerted him; yet the moſt of them were ſet at Liberty, to ſettle the Accounts of their Companies, and to take Care of their other Affairs, before they left the Country. Theſe Officers, having thus loſt their Commiſſion and Employment, grew very mutinous in *Edenburgh*, accuſing the General for the Methods he had taken with them, contriving to raiſe Seditions and Parties among

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among their own Soldiers againſt him: So that the General was enforc'd to command their Departure out of *Scotland* preſently, where they were neither to ſtay nor to return again at the Peril of their Heads. But for their Arrears, they were to ſtate them with their new Maſters whither they were going, being reſolv'd they ſhould not be enabled to fight againſt him with his own Money, to the Prejudice of the other Part of his Army, that continued faithful.

XVIII. BUT to fix the Reſolution of his Soldiers for farther Practices upon them, and to ſpirit them againſt the Army in *England*; there was particular Care taken in the placing ſuch Serjeants and Corporals over them, as were People of ſome Diſcretion and Truſt; who, converſing more with the common Soldiers than the ſuperior Officers did, had continual Opportunity of making better Impreſſions upon them. And to the ſame Ends there were frequently publiſh'd Pamphlets and Paſquils, with ſharp Reflections upon the Practice of the Army in *England*, and Dialogues printed, ſtating the Caſe of the Quarrel, between a Soldier of the *Scotch* Army and another of the *Engliſh*. All which were uſually read among them upon the Guards, and paraphras'd upon by the Serjeants or Corporals; and

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and every Week a *Gazette* of the ſame Purport was printed at *Edenburgh*.

XIX. THE General was about this Time beſieg'd with ſo many Letters and continual Meſſages to him from the general Council of Officers in *London*, and another general Council at *Dublin*, and a third at *Newcaſtle*, that, beſides the ſtanding general Council of all Commiſſion Officers in the Army, he conſtituted a Committee of principal Commanders, to which were added ſome Perſons of eſpecial Prudence and Truſt, who were to peruſe all Letters, and to draw up Anſwers to them; to entertain ſuch Meſſengers as were ſent; to examine the Pacquets, and to ſtop ſuch Letters as they thought fit; and to prepare all Buſineſs ready for the General's Diſpatch, againſt ſuch Time as he was at Leiſure to come to Council.

CHAP. XIII.

I. *General* Monk's *Commiſſioners arrive in* London, *and come to an Agreement with thoſe of the* Engliſh *Army, with the Articles of Agreement.* II. *The General is ſurpriz'd with the News of this Agreement.* III. *And refuſes to confirm it, af-*

ter having called a Council of Officers, who declare their Diſlike of it: Upon which a Letter was ſent to Fleetwood, *deſiring an Explanation of ſome of the Articles.* IV. *Then he marches back from* Edenburgh *to* Haddington; *thence to* Dunbar, *and takes up his Quarters at* Berwick. VI. *Some of the General's Horſe deſert to* Lambert, *who was quartered at* Newcaſtle. VII. *The General's Letters arrive at* London. *The various Effects of them upon the ſeveral Parties there. The Council of State write a Letter of Thanks to him, and make him* Generaliſſimo; *though with the Reſtraint of five Commiſſioners join'd with him.* VIII. *His Commiſſioners return to* Scotland. IX. *Diſcontents in* Lambert's *Army.* X. Lambert *writes to General* Monk, *to reſume the Treaty.* XI. *Intercedes for the Releaſe of Colonel* Cobbet, *which the General refuſes.* XII. Chillingham *Caſtle ſurpriz'd by* Lambert's *Forces, contrary to Agreement, upon which General* Monk *confines Colonel* Zanchy, Lambert's *Meſſenger.* XIII. *The Arrival of General* Monk's *Commiſſioners from* London, *and their Excuſe. Colonel* Wilks *confin'd.*

I. WE left the Commiſſioners of the Treaty on their Way to *London*, where

where they arrived *November* 12. and, with more Ceremony than Kindneſs, were receiv'd at *Wallingford-Houſe* by ſuch Officers as were appointed by Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* to confer with them. Here they were ſo continually careſs'd with the Attendance and Reſpect of the Officers, that they had no Opportunity to purſue their ſecret Inſtructions, in procuring Intelligence from the City, or the late excluded Members; nor ſcarce Freedom enough to deliberate privately among themſelves upon the Articles propos'd to them. And every Day there were ſhewed to them Letters of Intelligence from the North, (moſt of which were framed in *London*) informing them of the continual and daily Revolt of General *Monk*'s Forces from him; and ſo alarm'd his Commiſſioners, that they were afraid at this Rate, within a little Time, their General would not be worth a treating with. And therefore inſtead of purſuing their private Inſtructions by artificial Delays, within three Days after their Arrival, they conſented to an Agreement, ſigned by them *November* 15. (the ſame Evening Commiſſary *Clarges*, whom we left at *York*, returned to *London*) which was comprehended in nine ſuch wild and extravagant Articles, as any one of them had been ſufficient to have ruined all General *Monk*'s Deſigns. *Nov.* 12. *Nov.* 15.

1. In the first, they fortify'd their *Conspiracy against the Family of the late King, and all Descendants from him.*

2. By the second, they *precluded the Pretence of any other single Person*; which was contriv'd by that Party of the Commissioners, who were for a Commonwealth, and whereby they might not only shut the Door against the Return of *Richard Cromwel*, but were resolv'd to keep it fast against the later Ambition of *Lambert*.

3. In the third, the Matter was so carried, *that the supreme Power of settling the Commonwealth should remain in the Hands of the general Council of Officers*; only now the Officers of the Army in *Scotland* and *Ireland* should come in for a Share of the Tyranny.

4. And because the late Juncto was not further to be trusted, the fourth *provided for the Election of a new Parliament*; but under such Qualifications as must needs let in only the greatest Villains in the Nation.

5. The fifth took Care for the *paying to the* Scotch *Army the Arrears of their Proportion formerly settled out of the Assessment in* England.

6. The sixth Article was the luckiest of them all, *constituting a Committee of fourteen Officers, half whereof were to be chosen*

ſen out of the Army in England, *and the other half out of the Army in* Scotland, *who were to determine the Caſe of all ſuch Officers as had been diſplac'd, or given up their Commiſſions ſince the* 7th *of* October *laſt paſt; and thoſe Commiſſioners on both Sides were to meet at* Newcaſtle *in* December *next enſuing.*

7. AND becauſe they knew, that, by their manifold Guilts and lawful Practices, they ſtood in need thereof, the ſeventh *provided for their Indemnity.*

8. IN the eighth, they deſign'd to render the Pulpit only a Kind of an idle Country Wheadle upon the Clergy of the three Nations, *for their better Support and Encouragement.*

9. And in the ninth was order'd the *Retreat of the ſeveral Forces in* England *and* Scotland, *to their former reſpective Quarters before the Quarrel began.*

II. THE Officers at *Wallingford-Houſe* had by this Agreement, ſo handſomely out-witted General *Monk*'s Commiſſioners, that they were very well pleas'd with their Contrivance; and therefore preſently diſpatch'd away their ſign'd Articles by two Meſſengers of their own, *Wallington* and *Floyd.* But before their Arrival into *Scotland*, General *Monk* had left *Edenburgh*, intending to take up his

Quarters at *Berwick*, and was come as far as *Haddington*, where theſe Meſſengers found
Nov. 18. him *November* 18. late in the Evening, as he aroſe from Supper. The General having broke up the Pacquet, and perus'd the Articles, was ſtrangely ſurpriz'd at the Contents of them, and did believe his Commiſſioners were frighted out of their Wits at *London*, or loſt them by the Way, having done nothing agreeable to the Inſtructions he gave them. He then gave the Paper to ſuch Officers as were then preſent, and (according to his uſual Manner) ſaid not a Word to them, but retir'd to his Chamber.

III. The next Morning (inſtead of holding on his March to *Berwick*) he retir'd again to *Edenburgh*, whither the News of the Agreement was arrived before him. So that upon the firſt Notice of his Return thither, there were good Store of his Officers (then quartering in the Town) ready to attend him in the uſual Council Chamber. At his firſt coming in among them, he was very ſilent and reſerv'd; till ſome of them began frankly to expreſs their Diſcontent at this Agreement; others of them, that foreſaw their own and the General's Ruin contriv'd by it, were ready to ask Paſſes to provide for themſelves; and others diſcovered their Paſſion, in reflecting upon the Weakneſs and Imprudence of

their

their Commiſſioners. In Concluſion, the General let them know, he lik'd the Agreement as little as any of them: But if they would all unanimouſly adhere to him, he was reſolv'd not to confirm it. To which all that were then preſent did very faithfully and paſſionately agree. The General therefore appointed, that a Council of Officers ſhould be conven'd to meet in the Afternoon, where they would farther deliberate upon the Means how to fruſtrate this Agreement. In this Aſſembly were preſent very many Officers, that (upon the late Alteration) were advanced to higher Commands in the Army, who, when they obſerv'd that, by the ſixth Article of Agreement, a Proviſion was made for reſtoring the diſcarded Officers to their Places again, were implacably reſolv'd againſt it; and, as a farther miſchievous Contrivance upon General *Monk* and his Officers, this Article look'd no farther than the 7th of *October* laſt paſt: So that all thoſe Officers who, (during the Seſſion of the Juncto) had been diſplac'd by the Committee in *London* for regulating the Army, and were the beſt and braveſt Men in the *Scotch* Army, could receive no Benefit by it, though for the preſent the General kept them in their Commands by his own immediate Authority. At laſt it was reſolv'd by the General, with ſome others of his moſt intimate Counſel, that no Exception ſhould be

offer'd to any of the Articles in particular, but that in the general ſome Things were ſo expreſs'd, as wanted a more clear and diſtinct Explication: And their Commiſſioners having fail'd in the Purſuit of their Inſtructions, having pretermitted ſeveral other things, which needed further to be agreed upon; that therefore they would crave Leave for the preſent to defer the Confirmation of theſe Articles, intreating their Conſent for the adding two Commiſſioners more to the former: which ſhould meet at *Alnwick*, or ſome other indifferent place, with the like Number of Commiſſioners from the Army in *England*, in order to a more diſtinct and laſting Agreement. All which was couch'd and drawn up the ſame Night, in a Letter to Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* and the Council of Officers, and the next Morning was diſpatch'd to *London* by *Wallington* and *Floyd*, who brought down the Agreement.

IV. The General having thus ſent away theſe Meſſengers with their Letter, and ordered the Advance of his Army towards the Borders, reſum'd again his Reſolution for *Berwick*. So that returning from *Edenburgh*, he took up his late Quarters again at *Haddington*; from whence he march'd to *Dunbar*, where he ſtay'd two Days to take Account of thoſe Forces that were quarter'd in thoſe

thoſe Places. Here he view'd thoſe Hills where he had rais'd the firſt of his Trophies in *Scotland*, when, well nigh ten Years ago, on the third of *September*, he open'd the Way for the Conqueſt of the Country, by that memorable and fatal Overthrow of the Covenanters.

V. FROM *Dunbar* he march'd to *Berwick*, where he arriv'd about the End of *November*, and took up his Head-Quarters. By this Station he was come cloſer to his Buſineſs, and could better inſpect the Proceedings of *Lambert*.

VI. IT was about the 23d of *November* when Lieutenant General *Lambert*, having before remov'd his Quarters from *York*, and kept on his Way, came to *Newcaſtle*, whither he arriv'd with about ſeven brave Regiments of Horſe, and four or five of Foot. Yet in this gallant Army there were two fatal Defects: The Soldiers had no Money, and the General had no Authority. But the advancing ſo much nearer, began to have ſome Impreſſion upon General *Monk*'s Army, eſpecially among the Horſe Regiments; whereof ſeveral Parties ſtole away in the Night to *Newcaſtle*. Major General *Morgan* having receiv'd Inſtructions, as we have before related, to regulate the Troops, (and Nov. 23.

Adjutant

Adjutant *Smith* was join'd with him) had taken great Pains in fixing them to the Generaal's Reſolution. But a great many of theſe Troops were Anabaptiſts, and ſuch like Malecontents, and were more inclin'd to *Lambert*, and the Extravagancies of the *Engliſh* Army, than to the ſteady Councils of their own General. Yet ſome of theſe Runagates were ſurpriz'd before they could get off, and being unhors'd, there were Red-coats, who had been ſo good Husbands of their Pay, that they could find Money to buy Boots, and were mounted in their Room. General *Monk*, when he had firſt declar'd againſt the Army in *England*, was very much concern'd that he was no ſtronger in Horſe, having had two Regiments commanded off from him by the Junćto in the Buſineſs of Sir *George Booth*. But after he found ſo many Traitors and Fugitives among his Troops, he was very well contented that he had no more of them to loſe. His Regiments of Foot were entirely devoted to him, and were certainly, for their Courage and exact Diſcipline, the beſt Infantry in the World; and ſo perfectly obedient to their General, that they were reſolv'd to fight in his Quarrel, if there had been no Horſe at all to aſſiſt him.

VII. BEFORE this Time the Meſſengers with General *Monk*'s Letters were arrived at *London*,

London, where, ſo ſoon as it was known, that the General and his Officers had refus'd to ſign the Agreement, it rais'd many and various Paſſions among them. The Council of Officers (who ſat hugging themſelves in the Succeſs of their Politicks) were greatly ſurpriz'd with this ſtrange Fruſtration, after they look'd on the Buſineſs as fully concluded, and had ſo repreſented it to all their Party. The Citizens, who, about a Fortnight ago, had given up their Liberty for loſt, upon the News that both the Armies were agreed, began now to entertain ſome Hopes of their Redemption, when they were told the Articles would not paſs in *Scotland*. And the old Members of the Juncto upon this News began to recover their Spirits. Some while before they were ſullen, and out of Humour, that General *Monk*, after he had ſo briskly declar'd for them, had yet enter'd into a Treaty with *Fleetwood* and his Officers, without adviſing with them; and that his Commiſſioners, who manag'd it in *London*, had made no Application to them. But now ſome of the old Council of State, who were reſolv'd to make uſe of the Occaſion, met privately together, and drew up a very kind Letter to him, which was to be convey'd to *Berwick* by a Servant of Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*. In it they greatly magnify'd the Courage and Fidelity he had expreſs'd in his Declaration,

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to defend the Authority of Parliaments, promiſing alſo their utmoſt Endeavours to concur with him therein. This was ſubſcrib'd by *Scot* the Preſident, and eight more of them, whereof three were joint Commiſſioners with him, for the Conduct of the Army. And in Teſtimony of their entire Confidence in him, and their Enmity againſt *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*, they alſo ſent him a Commiſſion to command as General over all the Forces of *England* and *Scotland*. But it was ſo artificially and ſlily penn'd, that if any of the former Commiſſioners were with him upon the Place, or at ſuch Diſtance as they could conveniently be advis'd with, he was to take their Conſent along with him; only they had reduc'd the Number from ſeven to five, having now expung'd *Fleetwood* and *Ludlow*.

VIII. LIEUTENANT General *Fleetwood*, and his Council of Officers, having further conſider'd the Contents of General *Monk*'s Letter, were quickly apprehenſive there was no very good Meaning towards them in the *Scotch* Army, by this contriv'd Delay of ſigning the Agreement. They therefore ſent for the Commiſſioners of the Treaty, who were ſtill in Town; expoſtulating with them this proceeding of the General and his Officers. The Commiſſioners had very little to ſay in it: But they, having ſign'd thoſe Articles,

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ſome of them gave Aſſurance of their utmoſt Endeavour to procure the ſpeedy Ratification of them, when they ſhould next come to reſume the Treaty. Which ſo far ſatisfy'd the Council of Officers, that they preſently ſign'd their Paſs for their ſafe Conduct homewards, flattering themſelves with the Confidence of cheating them again in the North, as eaſily as they had done it at *London*.

IX. But before theſe Commiſſioners could get to *Newcaſtle* in their Way home, the News of General *Monk*'s Demur to the Agreement had made foul Work with *Lambert* and his Officers there; who were more concern'd than any of the reſt, for the ſpeedy Concluſion of the Treaty. And though they much exceeded their Enemies in Number, and wanted not Force enough to defend themſelves againſt them, yet they had not their uſual Conveniences, nor Money to procure them. And theſe Soldiers of *Lambert* were a ſort of pamper'd and delicate Companions, that for a long Time had known no Hardſhip, but liv'd at Eaſe in their *Engliſh* Quarters; having nothing elſe to do, but to eat the Fat of the Land, and to continue the Nation's Slavery. But now theſe cold Countries of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, among a coarſe and hardy kind of People, made them as weary of their Quarters, as they were of the War.

X. In the midſt of theſe, and many other ill Circumſtances, Major General *Lambert* was very deſirous to haſten the Concluſion of the Treaty. To which end, before General *Monk*'s Commiſſioners were return'd as far as *Newcaſtle*, he had ſent Colonel *Zanchy* with Letters to General *Monk* and his
Dec. 6. Officers, (who arriv'd at *Berwick*, *Dec.* 6.) to nominate their two new Commiſſioners, and to reſume the Treaty, but without the Addition of new Matter, that was not agreeable to the former Articles. To which the Council of Officers reply'd, that they would not recede from any Thing which their Commiſſioners had aſſented to, which was according to their Inſtructions; but would not hold themſelves oblig'd in ſuch Points wherein they either err'd or exceeded.

XI. The ſame Meſſenger was alſo directed to intercede for the Enlargement of Colonel *Cobbet*, being ſent thither as a publick Meſſenger. To which the General warmly reply'd, that he could not accept Colonel *Cobbet* in the Quality of a publick Meſſenger; but that it was rather a Preſumption in him to enter into *Scotland*, where he had nothing to do, and knowing the Parliament had vacated his Commiſſion before they were diſturbed by *Lambert*. And whatever could be

be pretended, the General ſo well knew the Temper and Influence of Colonel *Cobbet*, that he was firmly reſolv'd not to truſt him with his Liberty.

XII. THE next Morning, being *December* 7. Colonel *Zanchy* was to return with this Anſwer to *Newcaſtle*; but the ſame Night the Head-Quarters were alarm'd with the News, that a Party of *Lambert's* Horſe and Dragoons were broke into *Northumberland*, and had ſurpriz'd *Chillingham* Caſtle. They were in ſo great Streight for Money, that they made this Incurſion, partly in Hopes to ſeize the Lord *Grey's* Rents, which they might eaſily have done, but that the Bird was flown before they had ſpread their Nets. This Action being ſo directly contrary to their Agreement at the Beginning of the Treaty, did ſo highly incenſe the General, that he preſently commanded Colonel *Zanchy* to be ſecured, and to give him Satisfaction for this Breach of the Articles. And now *Zanchy*, inſtead of procuring *Cobbet's* Liberty, loſt his own. Dec. 7.

XIII. WHILST this Buſineſs was tranſacted with Colonel *Zanchy*, the Commiſſioners of the Treaty, Colonel *Knight*, Colonel *Cloberry*, and Colonel *Wilks*, return'd from *London* to *Berwick*: Where they made the

beſt Excuſe they could, for the ill Management of their Embaſſy, and with ſome Reflection upon the Raſhneſs and Imprudence of each other. The General expreſs'd ſome Diſpleaſure againſt them all. But becauſe Colonel *Wilks* ſeem'd to have led the Dance to the reſt, in departing from their Inſtructions, and had been too forward in revealing the General's Inclinations for a new Parliament, which was to be kept to the laſt Pinch, he order'd his Confinement; though afterwards he was prevail'd upon to accept his Submiſſion and Excuſe with the Grant of his Liberty.

HITHERTO we have attended the Motions of our General from his firſt Head-Quarters at *Dalkeith*, to his ſecond at *Edenburgh*, thence to his third at *Berwick*, and are now following him to his fourth and laſt Head-Quarters at *Coldſtream*.

CHAP. XIV.

I. *The General marches to* Coldſtream, *and takes up his Head-Quarters there*, II. *For the Conveniency of its Situation.* III. Lambert's, IV. *And the reſt of that Party's ill Conduct.* V. *Who deceive themſelves with the*

the Expectation of an Agreement upon the Treaty. VI. *The Condition of* Lambert *and his Forces at* Newcaſtle. VII. *General* Monk *meets Commiſſioners from the Nobility in* Scotland *at* Berwick, *who offer to raiſe ſeven thouſand five hundred Men for the Service of the General.* VIII. *The Levies refus'd.* IX. *Colonel* Zanchy *diſcharged.* X. *The General, upon his Return to* Coldſtream, *receives Overtures from the Lord* Fairfax. XI. Lambert *confin'd within his Quarters by the Severity of the Weather.* XII. *The Fleet and* Portſmouth *declare for the Parliament.* XIII. *The Committee of Safety ſend Forces to beſiege* Portſmouth, *who revolt to the Parliament.* XIV. *An Expreſs from General* Monk *to* Lambert. XV. Lambert *in great Diſtreſs.* XVI. *The General receives the News of the Revolt of the Fleet. The Forces in* Ireland *declare for the Parliament.*

I. ABOUT two in the Morning *December* 8. the General was mounted at *Berwick*, intending to viſit the Paſſes over the River *Tweed*, in his Way to his new Quarters. But beſides the Badneſs of the Way, the Weather proving very tempeſtuous, he was enforc'd for a few Hours to put in at the Paſs at *Norham*, and about Noon arriv'd at *Dec.* 8.

Coldſtream, being nine Miles from *Berwick*, where there was in Readineſs only one Regiment of Foot for his Guards and Attendance. This (as moſt bordering Towns) was a very poor and deſpicable Place, and ſo deſtitute of Proviſion, that, for the firſt Night, the General was enforc'd to entertain himſelf with the chewing Tobacco inſtead of a Supper, till he was the next Day better ſupply'd with Proviſions from *Berwick*. The Houſe that was aſſigned for his Head-Quarters, had not a Room in it of tolerable Reception for one of his Serjeants; ſo that he was to eat and ſleep in the ſame Chamber. To this *Prætorium*, made of a Cottage, were adjoining two Barns, whereof one was taken up by his Sutlers for his Pantry, and the other ſerv'd for his Chapel.

II. But this miſerable Town was furniſh'd with the moſt commodious Paſs for the March of his Army over the *Tweed*, for which Reaſon he choſe it, and was very well contented with all other Inconveniencies. It was plac'd as a central Point to all the neighbouring Villages, where his Forces all lay quarter'd about him, ſo that in four Hours time he could have drawn them all into a Body upon any ſudden Occaſion or Alarm.

III. It

III. IT was ſome Part of the Wonder of thoſe Times, that Major General *Lambert*, knowing how much it concern'd him to be quick in his Buſineſs, being deſtitute of Money to ſupport himſelf and his Forces in Delays, had not all this while march'd into *Scotland*, having an Army ſo much ſuperior to his Enemies, and a conſiderable Body of Horſe fit for ſuch a ſudden Invaſion: Nor had General *Monk* fully perfected his Alterations among his Officers, nor compleatly fix'd his own Army in Obedience to him. So that upon *Lambert*'s Advance among them, moſt of General *Monk*'s Horſe would probably have gone off from him, and perhaps many others would have ſhewn him their Heels, had they once ſeen *Lambert* and his Army in their Country.

IV. AND indeed had the Armies in *England* and *Ireland* been well reſolv'd together, and gone roundly to the Work; ſo that *Lambert* had directly march'd into *Scotland*, and at the ſame time ſome Part of the *Iriſh* Forces (who had as yet diſſented from the General's Proceedings) had landed there, which might eaſily have been done in any Part of the Weſt of *Scotland*; they would ſhrewdly have broken and diſorder'd all his Reſolutions, nor was he of ſufficient Force to oppoſe them.

So that (though the General had omitted no Part of a wiſe and prudent Man) yet it is manifeſt he was ſtill under a Conduct and Providence greater than his own, which did ſo far infatuate the Counſels of his Enemies, as they frequently overlook'd thoſe Advantages upon him, which the Difficulty of Affairs had ſometimes given them.

V. But to avert this Hazard, there was ſeaſonably thrown out to them (from *Scotland*) a Treaty to make play with; which was entertain'd with very probable Hopes of concluding the Difference. Nor were they willing to believe, that the Army in *Scotland* would be forward to engage againſt their Brethren in *England* and *Ireland*, who were every Way too many for them. *Lambert* had alſo conſented to a Ceſſation of all Hoſtility during this Treaty; and though haply he might have gone forward with more Advantage, by going back from his Word; yet he was a Perſon of more Generoſity than many among them, and was not willing to prevaricate his Promiſe, whilſt there was ſtill any Hopes of coming fairly to an Agreement.

VI. But the greateſt Impediment to the invading of *Scotland*, was really from among themſelves. There being ſo many, and ſo different Intereſts and Inclinations in *Lam-*

bert's Army. Some of thoſe whom he took up by the Way, that had lately march'd with him againſt Sir *George Booth*, had been ſo practis'd on by him, that they were wholly at his Service. But there were many among them that had a great Inclination to *Fleetwood*; and having entertain'd a Jealouſy of *Lambert's* Ambition, were no Ways haſty to ruſh into the War, which, if it had ſucceeded with Victory, would have given *Lambert* an entire Poſſeſſion of the Government. There were alſo ſome Regiments brought out of *London*, that had formerly been Guards to the Parliament, and therefore had no Stomach to engage earneſtly againſt thoſe, who now declar'd themſelves their Reſtorers. Neither was there wanting a conſiderable Number among them of the Commonwealth Party, who, upon better Conſideration, began to part with their Suſpicions upon General *Monk*, for bringing in the King, and apprehended now a great deal of Reaſon and Juſtice in his Declaration for reſtoring the Parliament: Under whoſe Authority the Quarrel at firſt began, and no other Government could juſtify or maintain them in it. All theſe different Intereſts among them were very well known to General *Monk*, who wanted not Eſpials upon them, even in their own Head-Quarters.

VII. But the General having ſpent now almoſt a Week, in ſettling himſelf and his Army in their new Quarters, was mindful of the Appointment he had made with ſeveral of the Nobility in *Scotland*, and their Commiſſioners from the Shires and Boroughs, *Dec.* 13. to meet him at *Berwick*, *December* 13. on which Day he accordingly haſten'd thither from *Coldſtream*, being attended with ſome of his beſt Colonels, and Dr. *Barrow* the principal Phyſician, who about this Time was made Judge Advocate of the Army. The General had held a former Conſult with the *Scotch* Commiſſioners at *Edenburgh* in *November* laſt, which we purpoſely omitted in its Place, that the Reader might not be perplex'd with too many Particulars, which came ſo thick upon us, and having reſerv'd both theſe Conventions to be related together. In the former the General acquainted them with his Reſolution to march into *England* for reſtoring the Parliament, and therefore deſir'd that the Arrears of Aſſeſſment for his Army might be ſpeedily paid; which they all very chearfully undertook for, and at their Return into their ſeveral Shires it was exactly perform'd. And this was the Sum of what was then done at *Edenburgh*. But in this Convention at *Berwick*, where were preſent the Marquiſs of *Athol*, the Earls of *Glencarn*, *Rothes*, *Roxborough*,

Roxborough, *Weams*, and ſeveral other of the *Scotch* Nobility, divers Things were propos'd by them to the General: That for the preſent they might be allow'd to have a ſtanding Council in each Shire, with Power to raiſe ſome ſmall Proportion of Horſe, for the ſecuring the common Safety, and that they might be furniſh'd with Arms out of the General's Stores at the uſual Rates; with Liberty alſo to wear their Swords, which had been hitherto deny'd them; and that in Caſe the Treaty did not take Effect, they might proceed to make greater Levies for the Aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh* Army, and their own Defence. And in particular they propos'd to raiſe preſently for the General's Service ſix thouſand Foot, and one thouſand five hundred Horſe. The General preſently adviſ'd in private with ſome of his Officers upon theſe Propoſals, where there was ſome Variety in their Opinions; but in Concluſion it was reſolv'd, That though there was need enough for the General to encreaſe his Forces, yet for the preſent by no Means to grant any Commiſſion to the *Scotch* Nation for raiſing of Arms; which would ſo alarm the *Engliſh* Army, as they would preſently run into a Diſtruſt of their Officers, or would take Occaſion to think themſelves ſuſpected. And how unwillingly their own Soldiers would comply with a Mixture of that Nation, they had lately made

an Experiment, in thoſe Diſcontents that aroſe upon allowing ſome of the *Scotch* Officers to fill up their Companies with *Scots*.

VIII. Upon a further Conference therefore with the Lords, the General conſented to ſome Part of their Propoſals; but for raiſing Regiments he deſir'd their further Patience, till he ſaw what Concluſion the Treaty (which they were now again to reſume) would produce. And ſome of them were very well aſſur'd, that if the War did go on, the General would not then be ſcrupulous in admitting the *Scots* to a Conjunction with him. And both their Lordſhips and the other Commiſſioners had entertain'd ſuch Opinion of his Generoſity and Juſtneſs, that, though they were not gratify'd at preſent in all their Deſires, yet they took Leave of him with a very perfect Satisfaction and Confidence. Some of theſe Lords alſo, and divers of the General's own Officers, had ſo far look'd into his Proceedings, that, though they had the Diſcretion to conceal their own Apprehenſions, yet were they very well aſſur'd, that all this Buſtle was not made only to reſtore a few hated and inconſiderable People into a Condition of doing more Miſchief; but there was ſome greater Deſign in Hand than the Reſtitution of the Juncto Parliament.

IX. The

IX. THE General had receiv'd Intelligence before he came from *Coldſtream*, that *Lambert* (to pacify his Diſpleaſure, and to reſtore the Treaty) had recall'd his Forces out of *Northumberland*; and therefore General *Monk*, before he left *Berwick*, ſent for Colonel *Zanchy*, who was a Priſoner; and having diſcharg'd him from his Confinement, ſent him back to *Newcaſtle* with this Meſſage to Major General *Lambert*, that he would ſpeedily ſend him his further Reſolution in order to the Treaty.

X. ALL Matters being thus concluded at *Berwick*, the General return'd again to his Head-Quarters at *Coldſtream*, where, with much Difficulty and Hazard of the Enemy's Army, there came to him a Meſſenger from the Lord *Fairfax*; one Mr. *Fairfax* his Kinſman, who inform'd him, that, by the Interview between Commiſſary *Clarges* and his Agent Mr. *Bowles*, he was ſo well ſatisfy'd with the Juſtneſs and Reaſon of his Intentions, that he was very willing to join with him therein; and to that End was employing his Intereſt among the Gentry and Soldiery of *Yorkſhire*, and the adjacent Counties, for the forming of a Party to riſe with him, which would be in Readineſs about the Beginning of *January*, to fall upon *Lambert*'s Rear;

Rear; by which Action his Lordſhip was likely to recover that Honour in purſuing the Army, which, when he was formerly their General, he had loſt by leading it. He alſo receiv'd from Commiſſary *Clarges*, and his other Intelligencer at *London*, ſuch an Account of the Factions and Diſorders beginning in the City, that he was reſolv'd to make no Haſte in proceeding further to the Treaty, which hitherto with much Artifice had been delay'd.

XI. Nor was there any Fear of *Lambert*'s further Advance or Aſſault upon the *Scotch* Army, the Weather having already prevented his March, through abundance of Snow, and a moſt ſevere Froſt, which laſted for many Weeks, ſo that in an uneven and hilly Country cover'd with Ice, *Lambert*'s Horſe (wherein was his Strength) could neither march, nor fight; and there being now more than forty Miles of Snow and Precipice between them, General *Monk*'s Quarters were as ſecure from *Lambert*'s Army, as if the *Atlantick* Sea had divided them. He was alſo ſo well inform'd concerning their Condition, that he very well knew their Money melted faſter than the Snow, and would therefore compel them to break before the Weather.

XII. But

XII. But whilſt General *Monk* held *Lambert* and his Army to hard Meat in the North, the reſtleſs Members of the late Juncto were as buſy in making Parties and Diſturbances againſt *Fleetwood*, and his Officers, and their Committee of Safety in *London*. Some of them had ſo far tamper'd with the Soldiery, that a great Party among them, finding they had miſtaken themſelves, in ſupporting an Intereſt that was not able to pay them, were willing to ſubmit to their old Maſters the Parliament. Others of the Juncto had got down to Vice-Admiral *Lawſon*, and the Navy; where they told their own Tale ſo effectually, that the Fleet was contented now to declare with General *Monk*, for reſtoring the Parliament. And about the ſame Time Colonel *Whetham*, who commanded the Garriſon at *Portſmouth*, diſcover'd his Inclination to join with General *Monk*, and his Army, in Defence of the Parliament. This Gentleman had formerly been of the Council of State in *Scotland*, where he began that Eſtimation and Friendſhip with the General, which led him now willingly to join his Intereſt with him.

XIII. Upon this Information, there were diſpatch'd down to him *Hazlerig*, *Morley*, and *Walton*, who were not only Members of the late Juncto, but were alſo three of the five Commiſ-

Commiſſioners appointed by them for governing the Army. Theſe three Perſons had ſo beſtirr'd themſelves at *Portſmouth*, that ſeveral Forces thereabouts came in to them. But to reduce this Defection there, General *Fleetwood* and the Committee of Safety commanded away a Party to beſiege the Town, who, reflecting upon the declining Eſtate of thoſe who ſent them, and that the Play would no longer pay for the Candle, threw up their Cards, and, as ſoon as they came there, inſtead of reducing theſe Revolters, increas'd their Number by joining with them. So that now, by the Union of theſe Parties together, (beſides General *Monk*'s Army in the North) there was a conſiderable Force in the South, reſolving to reſtore the Parliament.

XIV. Of all theſe Circumſtances General *Monk* had a ſpeedy Account from his ſure Intelligencer Commiſſary *Clarges*, who preſently made uſe of them as a decent Contrivance for diſſolving the Treaty. Thereupon he diſpatch'd away Major *Banniſter* to *Newcaſtle*, with an Expreſs to Major General *Lambert*, acquainting him, that himſelf and his Officers were preparing to enter again into the Treaty, but in the mean Time he had receiv'd Advice, that three of thoſe five Commiſſioners appointed with himſelf by Authority of Parliament, for the governing of the Army, were

were now at *Portſmouth* in the actual Diſcharge of their Truſt, without whoſe Conſent and Direction (according to the Intent of his Commiſſion) he could not proceed alone in ſo weighty an Affair; but did therefore deſire of him a ſafe Conduct for this Meſſenger, his Officer, to paſs quickly for *Portſmouth*, and to bring back from thoſe other Commiſſioners ſuch further Inſtructions, for the Management of the Treaty, as he and his Officers might accordingly be enabled to proceed upon.

XV. At the reading of this Letter *Lambert* expreſs'd ſome ſort of Diſpleaſure, telling Major *Banniſter*, that the General and his Officers had not us'd him well. The Buſineſs at *Portſmouth* was no News, having been known at *Newcaſtle* before it could come to *Coldſtream*. But by that he eaſily foreſaw the Treaty was at an End, and his own Forces. And now, as *Hannibal*, when it was too late, grew angry with himſelf, that he had not led his Army, hot and bloody, from the Battle of *Cannæ* to the ſacking of *Rome*; no leſs did *Lambert* accuſe his own Delay, that he had not, inſtead of ſtaying at *Newcaſtle*, march'd his Army into *Scotland*, where he might have been able to command that Submiſſion from his Enemies, which now he muſt be enforc'd to make to them.

XVI. But

XVI. But ſince the Meſſenger's Journey to *Portſmouth* could not be of any Uſe to the Treaty, he was reſolv'd it ſhould ſerve for no other Deſign; and therefore refuſing to grant him any paſs, commanded his Return again to *Coldſtream*, whither he brought the General better News than that he had carried to *Newcaſtle*. For, during his Stay there, the Intelligence arriv'd, that Vice-Admiral *Lawſon* and the Fleet had actually declar'd in the ſame Cauſe with him; having threaten'd to block up the *Thames*, and beſiege their Trade, if the Parliament was not inſtantly reſtor'd. In theſe his uneaſy and worſt Quarters the General entertain'd all his beſt News. For about this Time Captain *Campbel* arriv'd at *Coldſtream* with the Letters from *Ireland*; acquainting him, that the Army there had not only declar'd with him for reſtoring the Parliament, but would be ready alſo to ſend over ſuch Forces to him, as he ſhould have need of.

CHAP. XV.

I. *A private Conference between the General and his Chaplain Dr.* Price, *wherein he*

he declares his Reſolution of reſtoring the King, with the Reaſons of his former Caution and Reſervedneſs. II. *A fine Reflection of the Author's upon this Declaration of the General.* III. *The diſorder'd and diſtracted State of* London *at this Time.* IV. Fleetwood *ſubmits to the Parliament which meets at* Weſtminſter. V. *The General receives Advice, that Lord* Fairfax *was in Arms in* Yorkſhire, *and that* Lambert *was upon his Retreat from* Newcaſtle *into that County.* VI. *The General paſſes the* Tweed *to the Support of Lord* Fairfax: VII. *Sending his Wife and Son by Sea to* London. VIII. *He receives a Letter from the Speaker, which is read to the Army:* IX. *Is complimented at* Morpeth *by the Sheriff and Gentlemen of* Northumberland; *by a Meſſage from* Newcaſtle; *and a Letter from* London. X. *Arrives at* Newcaſtle, *from which* Lambert *was retir'd.* XI. Lambert's *Army revolt from him.* XII. *The divided State of it makes the General ſlacken his Pace. He writes to the Lord Mayor and Common Council.* XIII. *To the Speaker, the Council of State, and Lord* Fairfax.

I. THESE ſtrange and fortunate Accidents at *Coldſtream,* were variouſly conſider'd by ſuch Perſons as attended the

General there, or were moſt intent upon his Service and Intereſt. Among the reſt his Chaplain, Dr. *Price*, having no Opportunity in the Day-time of private Acceſs to him, took Occaſion, by the Help of a Corporal, who that Night commanded the Guards, to enter his Chamber about two in the Morning, where he found the Door only latch'd, and the General, being weary of his narrow uneaſy Lodging in his Bed, was ſleeping in his Cloaths, having laid himſelf down on a Form, and reſted his Head on the Side of the Bed, with a Fire and Light in the Room. At his Approach, the General (who was never a ſound Sleeper) preſently awak'd, and enter'd into much ſecret Diſcourſe with him; who freely repreſented to him, how much his Obligation and Safety were equally concern'd in complying with the Deſires of the better Part of the Nation, by endeavouring their Settlement according to the ancient and known Laws. To which the General reply'd, that *he very well knew what he would have, nor ſhould he be wanting therein, ſo ſoon as he could find himſelf in a Capacity of effecting it; of which he had now ſomewhat more Hopes than formerly.* And then kindly taking him by the Hand, very ſolemnly and devoutly told him: *By God's Grace I will do it.* His Chaplain then took the Boldneſs to let him know how much he had diſoblig'd a great

great Part of the Nation, and contracted his own Intereſt into a narrower Compaſs, by declaring ſo ſtrictly for the Parliament as it ſat *October* 11. To this the General anſwer'd with ſome Earneſtneſs: *You ſee what People they are who are now about me, by whoſe Advice and Diſcretion ſeveral things are tranſacted and written. There are Jealouſies enough upon me already, and the leaſt Appearance of any Diſlike would make them greater. But though* (as he told him) *he had been paſſive in allowing ſome Proceedings, yet he was reſolved not to act by them.* This put an End to the Diſcourſe, and his Chaplain, craving Pardon for this Interruption upon him, left him to the remaining Part of his Repoſe.

II. THIS, and the like Paſſages, though they are no eſſential Part of the Story, yet becauſe the Minds of Men are beſt diſcover'd by ſuch ſudden and private Attempts upon them, they are very neceſſary to be inſerted. And the impartial Reader may better diſcern the Envy and Prejudice of their Opinions, who have thought that General *Monk* did govern his Reſolutions by the Events that fell in his Way, without endeavouring to bend and incline thoſe Events to a Compliance with his own Reſolution.

III. But leaving the General a little while to his Reſt at *Coldſtream*, we will lead our Reader back again to *London*, where nothing was to be ſeen but Tumult and Diſorder: The Citizens ſullen and querulous, their Apprentices unruly and deſperate, the Forces divided and irreſolute, and ſome of them already drawn off by their Officers that were devoted to the Parliament; the Committee of Safety no leſs diſtracted in their Counſels, and the Forces at *Portſmouth* upon their March towards *London*, to reſtore the Parliament. In ſo many fatal Circumſtances Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, who was certainly the moſt innocent Perſon among them, but altogether unfit to maintain the Place he held, or to ſupport himſelf againſt ſuch violent Tides as then ran againſt him, was able to hold the Reins of Government no longer, but dropt them from his trembling Hand.

IV. And ſending his Submiſſion to the Speaker, deſired him to convene ſuch Members as were about the Town, and to reſume again the Government into their Hands, which had been ſo ill managed by his own, and the Committee of Safety. The Members very well knew, how far *Fleetwood* had been paſſive in theſe Contrivances, and by what Engines he had been wrought upon; ſo that

that they eaſily accepted his Excuſe, being reſolv'd to diſcharge the Torrent of their Indignation upon *Lambert*, and his more ſecret Accomplices. There wanted not much courting or Addreſs to perſuade the Senators to find the Way into their old Seats again at *Weſtminſter*, who accordingly met there *December* 25. where we will leave them contriving the laſt of their Miſchief, whilſt we return again to *Coldſtream*. Dec. 25.

V. WHERE about this Time the General receiv'd a Meſſage from *York*, informing him, that the Lord *Fairfax*, finding his Preparations were diſcover'd, and to prevent a Surprizal from *Lambert*'s Army, was already actually in Arms ſooner than the Time he had appointed, and that *Lilburn*'s Regiment, deſerting their Colonel, was brought off by Major *Smithſon*, to join with him. The ſame Meſſenger brought him the firſt News, that the Junto was reſtored, and that *Fleetwood* with his Army had ſubmitted to them: and that *Lambert* alſo was retreating from *Newcaſtle*, with Intention to march back into *Yorkſhire*.

VI. THE General had a very tender Concern for the Lord *Fairfax*, and his Party, who had ſo generouſly declar'd for him; and knowing how unable they were alone to deal

with *Lambert*'s Army, he was reſolv'd to march to their Relief, and to fall upon the Rear before he ſhould be able to engage them. To that End, having drawn his Forces together he commanded their March over the *Tweed*.

VII. WHEN the General took up his Quarters at *Coldſtream*, he ordered his Lady, and his Son, the preſent Duke of *Albemarle*, to continue at *Berwick*, there being no convenient Reception for them in thoſe uneaſy Quarters. But before he marched hence, he took Care they ſhould paſs from thence by Sea to *London*, and wait him there. Accordingly there was a Veſſel in Readineſs to attend them.

Jan. 1. 16$\frac{5}{8}$. VIII. HIS Army conſiſted only of four Regiments of Horſe, which were not compleat, and ſix intire Regiments of Foot. Their March was in two diſtinct Brigades, one whereof was led by himſelf, and the other by Major General *Morgan*. And on *New-Year's* Day he order'd the Advance of the Foot over the River, and the next Day following them with his Regiment of Horſe, took up his firſt Night's Quarters at *Wellar* in *Northumberland*: Where, late in the Night, he receiv'd a ſhort Letter from the Speaker, dated *December* 27. informing him of their Return a-

gain to the Government, with ſome Acknowledgment of his Prudence and Fidelity in their Service, but not one Word of Order for his March toward them. Which, tho' he prudently conceal'd, yet it did inwardly diſpleaſe him. But his greateſt Surpriſal was from their ſo ſudden Return into Power, when having now ſo conſiderable an Army which had ſubmitted to them, it would lead them into a leſs Dependance upon himſelf, and before he could march to them, they would have ſo ſhifted Commiſſions in *Fleetwood*'s Army, and fix'd them in ſo perfect Obedience to the Parliament, as he ſhould not be able to play them that Game which he had intended when he got well into *London*. But that the Junto might be told how welcome their Letters were to him, he commanded they ſhould be read next Morning at the Head of the Regiments, being drawn up in the Snow; and, to keep themſelves warm, they made loud Acclamations for the Reſtoration of their Maſters, reſolving that they would march onwards, and have the Satisfaction to ſee them in their Seats.

IX. THE ſame Day the General kept on his Way towards *Morpeth*; but becauſe it was too long a March for his Army in ſo deep a Snow, he ſtay'd at a Village in the Mid-way for a Night, and took up his Quarters (which *Jan.* 3.

were worſe than thoſe in *Coldſtream*) at the Vicar's Houſe of the Pariſh; and the next
Jan. 4. Day arriv'd at *Morpeth*; where he was met by the High-Sheriff and Gentry of *Northumberland*, who gave him the publick Welcome into their County. Here were alſo attending two Sword-bearers, one from *Newcaſtle* with Compliments from the Magiſtrates of the place, inviting him thither; and the other from *London*, who preſented him with Letters from the Lord Mayor and Common Council of the City; expreſſing their Deſires for a full Parliament, with the juſt Reaſon of their Demand, ſince, in the preſent Aſſembly, there was not one Member ſitting to repreſent the capital City.

Jan. 5. X. FROM hence he came to *Newcaſtle*, where Major General *Lambert* had ſo long kept his Head-Quarters; but he quitted them about the ſame time that General *Monk* began his March from *Coldſtream*. For the ſame Meſſenger that brought to General *Monk* at *Wellar* the Letter from the Juncto, with the Account of their Reſtoration, left alſo their Orders at *Newcaſtle*, commanding the Army preſently to quit their Station there, and return directly to thoſe reſpective Quarters which were aſſign'd them by the Parliament before their Interruption.

XI. LAMBERT'S

XI. LAMBERT's Army was in a fair Way of diſſolving themſelves before thoſe Orders arriv'd. But ſo ſoon as the Soldiers heard, that *Fleetwood*'s Forces in *London* had deſerted their General, and ſubmitted to the Juncto, they were reſolv'd not to be exceeded by their Brethren in the Ways of Treachery and Falſhood; and therefore preſently all ſubmitted themſelves to the Orders of the Juncto, without expoſtulating one Word in behalf of *Lambert* their Leader, or once drawing a Sword for him; but ſhifting away to their ſeveral Quarters, they left him naked and deſtitute to the Cruelty of his Fortune. And ſome of them thought they had acquitted themſelves civilly towards him, in leaving him Liberty to ſhift for himſelf; and had not ſerv'd him as the *Argyraſpides* did their General *Eumenes*, and made their Peace with the Juncto, by delivering him a Captive to their Revenge.

XII. HE was in the Head of an Army good enough to have fought them both; ſo that it was greatly admir'd he did not ſtay and charge General *Monk* in his March forward, or turn back upon the Lord *Fairfax* and his Forces, whom he might more eaſily have dealt with, before the Northern Army could have advanced to their Relief. But, beſides the different Intereſts and Diſtractions in the

Army, there was a particular Dread among them of theſe two Generals, whom they knew to be the greateſt and moſt fortunate Commanders in both the Nations; ſo that the forwardeſt of them all had no great Stomach to come to an Engagement againſt them. But ſince (by the Diſſolution of *Lambert*'s Army) the Lord *Fairfax* and his Party were out of Danger, General *Monk* did ſomewhat abate his Pace, and ſtaid three Days at *Newcaſtle*, to perfect ſuch Inſtructions and Letters as he intended to ſend to *London*: From whence he diſpatch'd back Mr. *Man* the Sword-bearer of *London*, with Letters to the Lord Mayor and Common Council, expreſſing more of Reſpect towards them, than Aſſent to their Deſires.

XIII. At the ſame time he alſo ſent away Dr. *Gamble* with Letters to *London*; one to the Speaker of the Parliament, by him to be communicated to the Houſe. And becauſe the Letter from the Lord Mayor and Common Council could not be conceal'd from them, he inclos'd a Copy of their Letter, with another of his Anſwer to them, that they might diſcern he had no Correſpondence, but ſuch as he was willing they ſhould be privy to. There was alſo another Letter to the Council of State, and a third to the other Commiſſioners appointed with him for the governing

governing of the Army, and in his Way through *York* he was to leave another for the Lord *Fairfax*. Dr. *Gumble* was choſen as the fitteſt Meſſenger to convey theſe Letters to *London*, being ſo particularly known and intruſted by *Scot*, and others of the ruling Faction in the Houſe, and therefore could more advantageouſly repreſent the Service and Intentions of the General, than any other about him: The Deſign of this Meſſage being chiefly to remove from them thoſe Jealouſies they had entertain'd of his more ſecret Intentions; and to inſpect their ſeveral Deſigns, and who among them had the greateſt Power and Intereſt.

CHAP. XVI.

I. *The General's Arrival at* York, *from whence he writes to Sir* Charles Coot *in* Ireland, *to bring him into Meaſures for a free Parliament.* II. *A private Conference between him, and Lord* Fairfax, *and Mr.* Bowles, *his Lordſhip's Chaplain.* III. *The General receives Orders from the Junto for his March to* London. IV. *He ſends General* Morgan, *with two Regiments,*

ments, back into Scotland. V. *And leaves another at York under the Command of the Lord* Fairfax. VI. *Dr.* Gumble *returns from* London, *and gives the General an Account of the State of Affairs there, and the Diſpoſition of the People.* VII. *The General advances to* Nottingham, *being met there by Commiſſary* Clarges. VIII. *Projects Means for removing* Fleetwood's *Army out of the City.* IX. *He is met by* Scot *and* Robinſon *from the Parliament.* X. *His Behaviour towards them.* XI. *His Reception at* Leiceſter. XII. *At* Harborough *he is attended by three Commiſſioners from* London. XIII. *At* Northampton *receives more Addreſſes for a free Parliament.* XIV. *Which he was oblig'd to diſcountenance.* XV. *More Addreſſes to him at St.* Albans. XVI. Fleetwood *is order'd, with the Forces under his Command, to march out of* London. XVII. *The General halts for ſome of his Forces to come up.* XVIII. *On the ſecond of* February *marches to* Barnet. XIX. *Gives Orders for the more regular March of his Army.* XX. Fleetwood's *Forces removed out of* London; XXI. *Which, together with ſome Apprentices, begin a Mutiny, but are ſoon quieted.* XXII. *The General marches into* London.

I. FROM

I. FROM *Newcaſtle* the General advanc'd to *Durham*. Here he receiv'd Information that the Lord *Fairfax* and his Forces had ſummon'd the City of *York*, and were receiv'd into it; but that his Lordſhip, being ſurpriz'd with the Gout, was retir'd to his Houſe at *Nun-Appleton*. From thence he ſecretly diſpatch'd Sir George *Douglaſs* (who had long been converſant with him at *Dalkeith*) into *Ireland*, with Letters of Credit to Sir *Charles Coot*, and others, with whom he was to enter into a dangerous Treaty, for the diſpoſing of ſeveral Parties in *Ireland* to ſome Union and Agreement, and then to declare for a free Parliament, as the only poſſible Means that could now reſtore any laſting Settlement to the Commonwealth. *Jan.* 8.

FROM hence the General enter'd into *Yorkſhire* in his way to *North-Allerton*, where the High-Sheriff of the County attended him; and the next Day to *Topcliff*.

II. FROM thence about *January* 11. he arrived at *York*, where he took up his Quarters for five Days; and, by his own Authority, modell'd and diſpos'd of ſuch Forces as he found in the Country, that had belong'd to *Lambert*; whoſe Regiment of Horſe he gave to Colonel *Bethel*, as a Reward of his Service in joining with the Lord *Fairfax*; and *Jan.* 11.

the

the Regiment which had been *Lilburn's*, he diſpoſed to Major *Smithſon*, and made him Colonel of it, he having brought it off to the Lord *Fairfax* and his Party. During his Stay here he receiv'd a Viſit from the Lord *Fairfax*, with whom he had much ſecret Diſcourſe, and din'd together privately in the General's Chamber, whilſt the Officers and Attendants were entertain'd publickly. The ſame Night Mr. *Bowles*, who was Chaplain and Agent to the Lord *Fairfax*, was directed by his Lordſhip to confer with the General, and was privately with him till after Midnight, repreſenting to him the Inclination of the Country, and the Force that would be in Readineſs to join with him, if he would ſtay with them there, and at *York* declare for the King. But the General, who very well knew that ſuch an Attempt would preſently turn all the different Parties to an Union againſt him, and that his own Army was not yet enough refin'd in their Principles and Temper to engage with him in ſuch an Adventure, would by no Means admit of the Propoſal. The next Day he paid a Viſit to the Lord *Fairfax* at his Houſe at *Nun-Appleton*, where himſelf with ſeveral of his Officers and Retinue were very magnificently entertain'd at Dinner, and at Night return'd again to his Quarters at *York*.

III. HITHERTO

III. HITHERTO the General had march'd about an hundred Miles in length from *Coldſtream* to *York*, by his own ſole Authority and Diſcretion; but here he receiv'd Orders from the Juncto, to keep on his Way to *London*. They had taken no Satisfaction at the Lord *Fairfax* his Appearance in *Yorkſhire*, though he had prefac'd his Actions with Authority of Parliament, being very well aſſur'd that he had other Deſigns in it beyond their Safety. Nor could they be pleas'd with General *Monk*'s Stay in that County, where he might probably receive other Impreſſions than thoſe he had brought out of *Scotland*. And the Union of two ſuch Perſons againſt them, (eſteem'd the beſt Generals in the Nation) might have given them another Kind of Diſturbance, than what they had receiv'd from *Fleetwood* or *Lambert*. They had ſuffer'd him to advance ſo far, that now they could not decently command him back into *Scotland*, without ſome Diſobligation upon the General, and Jealouſy in his Army. Nor were they ſecure in the early Submiſſion of the Regiments in *London*; and therefore choſe rather to authoriſe General *Monk*'s Advance thither, than to leave him longer in *Yorkſhire*.

IV. THE General kept ſuch Intelligence over

over them by his Agents, that he very well knew where the Shoe pinch'd. He had already caned one of his Officers here, who had adventur'd to ſay: *General* Monk *will at laſt let in the King upon us*; and, to remove all Umbrage and Apprehenſion from among them, he reſolv'd here to leſſen his Army, and from *York* ſent back Major General *Morgan* to take the Care of *Scotland*, accompanied with two Regiments of Horſe and Foot. He had us'd the beſt Means in his Power to ſecure that Nation before he left it, yet was not very well aſſur'd, in the buſy Humour of the *Scots*. But the ſecret Reaſon of ſending *Morgan* back into *Scotland*, was chiefly to keep together a conſiderable Reſerve in Caſe the General ſhould have need of them, or to which he might have retreated himſelf, if he ſhould happen to take a Battle in *England*.

V. HERE alſo he left another Regiment under the Command of Colonel *Fairfax*; who, being a Native of this County, and very well ally'd and eſteem'd among them, was the moſt proper Perſon to be entruſted with the Care of the City, and the Safety of the County. And now having reduc'd his Army to four thouſand Foot, and one thouſand eight hundred Horſe, he went out of *York* about *January* 16. and march'd through

the reſt of the County till he came to *Manſfield* in *Nottinghamſhire*, *January* 18. *Jan.* 18.

VI. AT this Stage his Meſſenger, Dr. *Gumble*, whom he had diſpatch'd away from *Newcaſtle* to *London*, came back to him after three Days Stay in the City, and gave him a particular Account of his Meſſage: That he deliver'd all his Letters according to his Inſtructions; that he had been very ſtrictly examin'd concerning him by the Members of Parliament, but moſt particularly by the Council of State. He inform'd him, that ſeveral among them had an entire Confidence in him; but that among many others he was ſuſpected to have ſome conceal'd Deſign in Reſerve for bringing in the King; which was confirm'd by the confident Expectation, which the diſaffected Part of the City had of his Approach. He then acquainted him with the Diviſion in the Council, between thoſe who had taken the Oath of Abjuration, and were his profeſs'd Enemies, and others that had refuſed it; and had ſome Confidence that General *Monk* being nominated a Member of that Council, (whereof there were thirty one) there would be ſtrong Applications made to engage him in their ſeveral Parties. He inform'd him alſo, that *Scot* and *Robinſon*, two Members of the Parliament, and of the Council of State, were upon the Road to meet him: That

That they were ſent as Eſpials upon his Actions, and the Temper of his Army; and that, having themſelves taken the Oath of Abjuration, they would preſently be very earneſt to engage him therein.

Jan. 19. VII. FROM *Mansfield* the next Day the General advanc'd to *Nottingham*, where he was ſeaſonably met the Day following by Commiſſary *Clarges*, who had privately haſten'd down to him, with a further Account of the Affairs in *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and what Hopes or Jealouſies were entertain'd concerning him among the different Intereſts and Parties. He inform'd him, that the Forces then in the City were much greater than his own, and commanded by ſuch Officers as were declared Enemies to him, except *Morley* and *Fagg*.

VIII. HITHERTO the General had brought all his Buſineſs into ſo good a Poſture, that now his next and greateſt Concernment was to ſhift *Fleetwood*'s Army handſomely out of the City, and (without Impediment or Jealouſy) to bring his own in. To this End, before the Arrival of *Scot* and *Robinſon*, he enter'd into a Conſultation with ſuch Perſons about him as he could beſt truſt: Where it was reſolv'd, that a Letter ſhould be drawn up to the Parliament, giving them an Account of

of his March, and the Number of his Forces with him; and becauſe thoſe Regiments now in the City, had ſo lately been in Rebellion againſt the Parliament, and were not yet entirely ſettled and reduced, he was very unwilling his own dutiful and orderly Forces ſhould mix or converſe with them. He therefore beſought them (for their own Safety) that thoſe Forces under *Fleetwood* ſhould be remov'd to diſtant Quarters in the Country, except the two Regiments of Colonel *Morley* and Colonel *Fagg*, who had continued in their Duty to them, which, with his own Army, would be ſufficient to maintain the Guards to the Parliament, and ſecure the City. But this Letter was not thought ſeaſonable to be ſent till they were advanc'd near to *London*; ſo that they ſhould not dare to deny him, nor have Time enough to oppoſe his Entrance.

IX. THE General, having ſtaid at *Nottingham* two Days for the Rear of his Army to come up to him, on *Munday, January* 22. *Jan.* 22. marched to *Leiceſter*, and met *Scot* and *Robinſon* on their Way towards him. Much Ceremony and Submiſſion was here render'd by the General and his Army towards theſe two arrogant Commiſſioners of the Junto: Inſomuch that the General, who had quickly taken the Meaſures of that their Stay in the

Army, was so punctual, that his Soldiers were oblig'd, upon all Occasions, to pay them greater Reverence than had been us'd towards himself. During their March together, *Scot* and *Robinson* had much Conference with the General upon the late Alterations, and the present State of Things: And much of their Discourse was full of Apprehension and Jealousy of every Body about them, which further confirm'd the General, that himself was not free from their Suspicions. They reflected on the late Practice of *Fleetwood* and *Lambert* with a very particular Indignation. They fell foul on the City of *London*, for their late Stubbornness and Malignancy. And though the Army in *Ireland* had declar'd their Obedience to the Authority of Parliament, yet they very well knew they were not upon the right Basis.

X. The General was now more troubled how to temporize with these two Commissioners, than ever he had been how to oppose all *Lambert*'s Army. But because his grand Design was now upon the Anvil, for the removing of *Fleetwood*'s Army out of *London*, and the introducing his own, without which all his Travel hitherto would be lost, he was resolv'd so far to comply with their Extravagancies, as to give them an entire Assurance of him.

XI. Into

XI. INTO *Leiceſter* the *Iriſh* Brigade ſaluted him, being drawn up by Colonel *Redman* and Colonel *Brett*; of whoſe Fidelity he was aſſur'd, when they were in *Lambert's* Army, and therefore receiv'd them with a particular Friendſhip.

XII. FROM *Leiceſter* the next Day he went to his next Stage at *Harborough*; where he met three Commiſſioners, (whereof two were Aldermen) ſent to him from *London*, to renew the Contents of their former Letter at *Morpeth*, wherein they deſir'd a new Parliament, or the filling up this preſent one, by reſtoring the Members ſecluded in 1648. and compleating it by new Elections. Theſe Gentlemen deliver'd their Meſſage with ſuch Freedom and Reſolution, as greatly incens'd the two Commiſſioners; inſomuch that *Scot* told them, *That the Parliament had already, by their Vote, determin'd againſt the ſecluded Members; ſo that it was a Preſumption in any private Perſon to mention their Admiſſion.* The General very well knew that, for the preſent, it was as much the Citizens Intereſt, as his own, to comply with the Parliament's Commiſſioners againſt them, and ſo ſent them away diſſatisfy'd: Though afterwards ſome of thoſe Perſons that attended the General, took the Opportunity *Jan.* 23.

of giving them privately a better Understanding.

Jan. 24. XIII. The next Morning General *Monk* ſet forward for *Northampton*, where he met more Addreſſes from the Gentry of the County, for the filling up the Parliament, or calling a new one. But the cold Entertainment which the Meſſengers from *London* had receiv'd the Day before at *Harborough*, did ſomewhat diſcourage them in preſenting their Petition, till Dr. *Barrow*, and ſome other Gentlemen about the General, advis'd them to go on with their Addreſs, and to be content with ſuch Anſwer as they receiv'd, in Expectation of the future Effect.

XIV. The General was greatly perplex'd how to anſwer theſe repeated Addreſſes, being very well ſatisfy'd in the Reaſon and Equity of thoſe that brought them. But *Scot* and *Robinſon* eas'd him of that Care; for they undertook to anſwer all Comers, leaving General *Monk* to the Satisfaction of his own Silence, who never lov'd to make long Speeches, nor to hear them from others. But when he was forc'd (in Compliance with the Commiſſioners) to diſoblige thoſe Gentlemen that offered theſe Addreſſes, by his Anſwers; yet he would ſtill be careful to make them ſome Amends, by his

Countenance and the Kindneſs of his Aſpect toward them.

XV. FROM this Stage the General kept on his March to *Dunſtable*, *January* 27. and the next Day arrived at St. *Albans*, where he was again beſieg'd with numerous Addreſſes from ſeveral other Counties of *England*, agreeing all in the ſame Applications, for the reſtoring the ſecluded Members, or the calling a new Parliament. *Scot* and *Robinſon* had, all the Way from *Leiceſter* to St. *Albans*, taken up their Quarters in the ſame Houſe with him; and when they withdrew from him to their own Apartment, they always found or made ſome Hole in the Door or Wall, to look in or liſten, (which they had practis'd ſo palpably, that the General found it out, and took notice of it to thoſe about him, reflecting on their Baſeneſs and evil Suſpicions) that they might more nearly inſpect his Actions, and obſerve what Perſons came to him; and alſo be in Readineſs to anſwer the Addreſſes, and to ruffle with thoſe that brought them. But here they were ſo plainly and ſeverely reprimanded by thoſe Gentlemen that came, that *Scot*, in great Paſſion, reply'd: *Though his Age might excuſe him from taking up Arms; yet, as old as he was, (before this preſent Parliament ſhould be entangled, by reſtoring the ſecluded Mem-* *Jan.* 27. *Jan.* 28.

bers, or by new Elections) he would gird on his Sword again, and keep the Door againſt them.

AMONG the reſt of his Interruptions in this Place, he was troubled with a long Faſt-Sermon from *Hugh Peters*. And now being within twenty Miles of the City, it was thought fit to ſend away thoſe Letters to the Parliament, for the Removal of *Fleetwood*'s Army out of *London*, which, we gave an Account, were drawn up before at *Nottingham*. It was the laſt and niceſt Part the General had to accompliſh, in clearing the City of thoſe other Regiments before his own Entrance.

XVI. To this End Commiſſary *Clarges* was ſent away from hence, to prepare ſuch Members of the Junto as he could engage, to further the Vote; and Colonel *Lidcot* was pitch'd upon to carry the Letters, being the Speaker's Kinſman, and particularly eſteem'd by him. *Scot* alſo and *Robinſon* had, in their frequent Letters to their Confidents in the Houſe, giving ſo fair a Character of the General, and of the Diſcipline and Temper of his Army, that, in Concluſion, the Vote paſſed for *Fleetwood*'s Forces to retire into new Quarters in the Country, except the two Regiments of *Morley* and *Fagg*; though there were ſome that would have half of *Fleetwood*'s Forces

Forces remain in the City, and but half of General *Monk*'s admitted.

XVII. HERE the General made an Halt of five Days, both for the bringing up his own Forces nearer together (ſome whereof, for the Eaſe of the Country, had march'd in the other Road by *Newark*) and alſo to receive the Reſolutions of the Parliament by Colonel *Lidcot*, and for the diſtributing the Quarters in *London* by the Quarter-maſters for his own Army.

XVIII. AND from hence, *February* 2. he *F.b.* 2. march'd to *Barnet*, which were his laſt Quarters upon the Road, and within ten Miles of the City. And here his two evil Angels, *Scot* and *Robinſon*, that had never fail'd to quarter with him in the ſame Houſe from *Leiceſter* to this Stage, now left him to take up his Lodging alone, and retir'd themſelves to a private Houſe in the Town.

XIX. THIS Night he diſpatch'd Orders for the March of the Army into *London* the next Day: and that the Soldiers ſhould be duly charg'd to behave themſelves well and peaceably in their Quarters at *London*, and to pay duly for their Entertainment; which they might very well do,

there being ſome of their *Scotch* Money ſtill in the Treaſury.

XX. The General being advanced ſo near, the Junćto were in the mean while very buſy in diſpatching *Fleetwood*'s Forces out of the Town; which they did, not only to oblige General *Monk*, by removing them out of his Way; but, as an Inſtance of their Contempt and Scorn of thoſe Regiments for their late Defection, eſteeming them as unworthy to have their Quarters in the capital City. Yet that the common Soldiers might be oblig'd to march the more contentedly, they order'd them a Month's Pay, to qualify the Diſgrace of their Removal.

XXI. But theſe Regiments being long accuſtomed to a looſe and lazy Life, in the Luxury of the Town, were very unwilling to exchange their old Quarters in the City, for worſe and coarſer Entertainment in the Country, and ſtomach'd the Diſgrace of the Remove: Inſomuch that ſome of theſe Regiments began a Mutiny in the Suburbs; and at the ſame time a Multitude of Apprentices, taking the Opportunity of the Soldiers Diſcontents, beat up their Drums in the City, declaring for a free Parliament, in Hopes the enraged and mutinous Soldiers would join with them. The Council of State, then ſitting,

ting, were ſo alarm'd with the Diſorders of this Night in the City, together with the Apprehenſion of the further Miſchiefs which might happen in this unquiet Poſture of Affairs, that, late in the Night, they diſpatch'd away Meſſengers to *Scot* and *Robinſon*, in the General's Quarters at *Barnet*, deſiring them to haſten his March into the City, for Prevention of further Miſchief. Mr. *Scot* was ſo affrighted out of his Sleep with this haſty News, that he could not ſtay to dreſs him, but in the Diſhabit of his Night-Gown, Cap, and Slippers, hurry'd preſently to the General's Quarters, where he made a terrible Repreſentation of this Mutiny in the City, requiring General *Monk* to beat his Drums inſtantly, and march forward. But the General, that did not uſe to be alarm'd with every little Noiſe, or put out of his Temper by an haſty Tale, return'd him an Anſwer calmly, and perſuaded Mr. *Scot* to return to his Bed, and put his Fears under his Pillow: That he was ſo near the City, that no great Miſchief could be done in one Night, and that he would be with them early enough in the Morning, to prevent any greater Deſign. Yet, that the Commiſſioner might not be altogther at his Wit's End, he preſently diſpatch'd away ſome Meſſengers of his own, to inform him more particularly of theſe Commotions; who brought him News early in the Morning, that

the Commanders had quieted the Mutiny among their Soldiers; and that ſome Troops of Horſe, being ſent up into the City, had diſperſed the Apprentices, and that the Regiments were then marching out of the Town.

XXII. So that all things being thus quieted in the City, the General took his own Time to march leiſurely that Morning, *Friday, February* 3. into *London*. But before he enter'd the Town, he made a Stand at *Highgate*, where the Army, being then but five thouſand eight hundred Men, came again to rendezvous, and there receiv'd Orders for the manner of their March into the City. The three Regiments of Horſe firſt, and the General mounted at the Head of them, with his Trumpets before him, acccompany'd with the Juncto's Commiſſioners, and ſome of his own principal Officers, with ſeveral other Perſons of Quality, that had the Curioſity or Courteſy to meet him at his ſeveral Stages on the Way. After the Horſe march'd his four Regiments of Foot: And in the Afternoon he made his Entry by *Grey's-Inn-Lane*, where, at the *Rolls*, he made a Stop at the Speaker's Door; but he being not yet return'd from the Houſe, the General went on into the *Strand*; where, being told that the Speaker's Coach was coming near, the General alight-

Feb. 3.

ed from his Horſe, and, with much Ceremony, complimented the Prince of the Senate, and his legiſlative Mace in the Boot of his Coach. And thence, accompany'd with ſome of his Horſe-Guards, went on to his Quarters at *White-Hall*, where the Juncto had aſſign'd him before-hand the Apartment commonly call'd the *Prince's Lodgings*. *Jan.* 18.

CHAP. XVII.

I. *The mean Appearance of the General's Army.* II. *The Council of State tender the Oath of Abjuration to him, which he refuſes.* III. *Is viſited by the Heads of the ſeveral Parties.* IV. *Is introduced into the Houſe of Commons, where he receives their Thanks by the Speaker. The Subſtance of his Anſwer.* V. *The Suſpicions of the Parliament, and their Deſigns againſt his Life diſcover'd to Mr.* Sturdy, VI. *Who informs the General of it.* VII. *An Obſervation upon their Jealouſies.* VIII. *The Obſervation continued.* IX. *A Reſolution of the Common Council, to pay no more Taxes till the Readmiſſion of the ſecluded Members.*

Members. X. *The Rump impute this Resolution to some Encouragement from the General.* XI. *The General order'd to take down the City Gates.* XII. *Which he complies with;* XIII. *And executes their Orders.* XIV. *The Resentment of his own Officers.* XV. *The Citizen's Complaints to him.* XVI. *An Order to break the Gates, and dissolve the Common Council.* XVII. *The Gates broken.* XVIII, XIX. *The true Reasons of the General's Compliance with these Orders.* XX. *A Petition to the Junto for an Oath of Abjuration.* XXI. *The General's Army incensed.* XXII. *The General expostulates with the Junto, and directs them to call a free and full Parliament.* XXIII. *He quarters in the City.* XXIV. *The City's cold Reception of him.* XXV. *The Lord Mayor confers with him.* XXVI. *A better Understanding between him and the City; and the Junto surprised with his Letter to them.*

I. THE Citizens, that had been accustomed only to the prancing of *Fleetwood's* Troops through their Streets, which were always kept fair and wanton, and had us'd to see those well-cloath'd Red-coats sleek and trim in the Ease and Luxury of the City, had but a cold Conceit of this Northern Army as they passed by. Their *Scotch* Horse were

were but thin and out of Caſe, with long and hard Marching; and the Men as rough and weather-beaten, having march'd in a ſevere Winter about three hundred Miles in length, and through deep and continued Snows; ſo that all their Way they had ſcarce yet ſeen the plain Earth of their native Country.

II. THE next Morning, *Saturday, February* 4. the General was invited to take his Place in the Council of State, where, preſently after his Entrance, the Oath of Abjuration was tender'd to him by the Preſident. He expected no leſs than the Offer of it, and was prepar'd with an Anſwer: That ſeveral others, who were nominated with himſelf as Members of that Council, had before refus'd it; and therefore he deſir'd there might be a Conference between thoſe who had taken the Oath and thoſe who had refus'd it; by which himſelf and others who demurr'd, might be better ſatisfy'd. He alſo told them, that the Officers of his own Army were very tender in taking Oaths; and that he would not oblige himſelf in ſwearing to this new one, till he had firſt acquainted them therewith; and ſo, taking his Leave of the Aſſembly, return'd again to his Quarters at *White-Hall*. *Feb.* 4.

III. WHERE, the next Day, being *Sunday* he was viſited by the Heads of the ſeveral *Feb.* 5.

Parties

Parties in the Juncto and Council of State, and by many other Perſons of Quality in the City: All Men having a Curioſity to diſcern ſomething of his Intentions, by Conference with him, who was too wary to be fathom'd by any of them all, though he was beſet with the more pert and forward Diſcourſe of ſome, and the more contriv'd and cunning Artifices of others.

Feb. 6. IV. But on *Munday* Morning he was brought with much Ceremony by *Scot* and *Robinſon* through the Court of Wards to the Door of the Parliament Houſe, where the Serjeant at Arms, with his Mace, receiv'd him, and conducted him to a Chair within the Bar, in which he was deſir'd to ſit down: Which the General refuſing, the Speaker gave him the Thanks of the Houſe for his Service and Fidelity towards them, in a ſet Speech, fill'd with much ſcriptural and pious Raillery, according to the Guiſe of thoſe Times. The General, from the Back of the Chair, anſwered in a very wary and agreeable Reply, contrived to fit the Temper of thoſe Ears that were to hear him. And tho' ſome Men that wiſh'd him very well, thought, by that Diſcourſe, he had gone too far in his Compliance with them; yet the abjuring Part of the Houſe (whoſe Jealouſies of him were further heighten'd by his Refuſal of the Oath two Days

Days before) were diſpleas'd with all he ſaid, and arraign'd his whole Diſcourſe. His interceding for the Eaſe and Conveniencies of the People, they interpreted as a Strain of his Popularity, which was not to be endured in a General that ſerves a Commonwealth. The redreſſing of Grievances, was but a more ſecret Reproach upon their Negligence or Injuſtice in the Government. His Remarks upon multiplying further Oaths, was very offenſive to them, who had lately contriv'd that new one of Abjuration. His pleading for the Encouragement of the ſober Gentry, they accounted as a ſly Contrivance, which in Time would let in the Royal Party upon the Government. And by his frequent and ſharp Reflections upon the *Fanaticks*, (from which Speech they were thought firſt to have received that Name, which they have never yet wiped off) they accuſed him to have invidiouſly repreſented the moſt ſtrict and godly Part of the Nation, who, though they might happen to have been miſled by the Deſigns of others, were yet to be eſteem'd and cheriſh'd as the beſt and ſureſt Friends to the Government. Nor were they pleas'd with the Title of *General* given to him, calling him always, in their own Diſcourſe or Orders, *Commiſſioner Monk*.

V. THAT ſome of them had entertain'd great

great Apprehenſions and Suſpicions of him, is manifeſt from one Inſtance, which fell out juſt at this Time. Mr. *Scot*'s Son had lodg'd for ſome Time in the Houſe of one Mr. *Sturdy*, a *Roman* Catholick, in *Ruſſel-ſtreet*; and was ſo well acquainted with his Landlord, that, diſcourſing together about General *Monk*'s late Arrival into *London*, which was then the common Talk of the Town; he told him ſecretly, that the Parliament had ſuch Suſpicions of him, as that it was reſolv'd to remove him ſuddenly from his Command in the Army, and to lay him faſt in the Tower, having Articles againſt him ſufficient to endanger his Life.

VI. Mr. STURDY obſerving, in this miſerable Confuſion, that the Hopes of all honeſt Men were plac'd upon General *Monk* and his Army, was very much concern'd at this Relation; inſomuch as, the next Morning early, he haſten'd up into the City, and found out one Captain *Morrice*, an honeſt Citizen of his particular Acquaintance, to whom he revealed this ſecret Information. The Captain thought it a Matter of ſo much Conſequence, that he brought his Friend *Sturdy* to Mr. *Kendall* and Mr. *James Muddeford*, who were related to General *Monk*, and they two forthwith carried him to the General at *White-Hall*, where he farther atteſted the Truth

Truth of this Relation. The General had other Buſineſs in Hand, than to take any publick Notice of this Information; yet gave ſo much Credit to it, as he reſolv'd to look more carefully to himſelf, and commanded Mr. *Sturdy* to ride in his Guards, which he continued to do for ſome while after.

VII. THE General had hitherto carry'd all Things ſo fairly towards the Juncto, ever ſince his appearing againſt the Army in *England*; had ſo careſs'd their Commiſſioners all the Way they march'd with him, and ſeem'd ſo reſolv'd to continue their preſent Seſſion, by diſcouraging all Addreſſes made to him for filling up the Houſe, or admitting the ſecluded Members; that it might be Matter of ſome juſt Wonder, whence thoſe Jealouſies they entertain'd of him for changing the Government, or introducing the King, ſhould poſſibly ariſe.

VIII. FLEETWOOD and *Lambert* had both of them commanded Armies, as well as General *Monk*, and both had rebelled againſt them; yet were never ſo much as ſuſpected to have any Deſign of reſtoring the King. Only General *Monk*, who had alone declar'd for them; and, when he might have been ſafe in his Government of *Scotland*, by a Compliance with their Enemies, had put himſelf

into a manifeſt Hazard, by declaring for them with unequal Forces, againſt all the Armies of *England* and *Ireland*, yet could not ſecure himſelf from their Suſpicions. But there was ſomething in his Nature and Principles that gave them Jealouſy; ſomething was ſtill too apparent in him, which all his Arts of Caution and half Lights, all his Dexterity of Guards and Silence, could not conceal. Nor indeed could they reaſonably truſt any Man, that was not involv'd in equal Guilts and Villanies with themſelves.

IX. BUT at the ſame Time there fell out another new Accident that did greatly promote their Suſpicion. The City of *London* had all along been querulous, and diſſatisfy'd with this preſent Conſtitution of the Parliament, and had made ſeveral open Diſcoveries of their Diſcontent; but now they proceeded to that Indignation and Scorn againſt this Tail of a Parliament, that the Common Council of *London* had publiſh'd a Vote or Order of their Houſe, declaring they would pay no more Taxes or Aſſeſſments impos'd upon their City, till the Parliament were fill'd up with equal Repreſentatives of the People.

X. THIS was ſuch an avowed Contempt of the preſent Authority, and of ſo dangerous an Example to the reſt of the Nation

tion against paying Taxes, as gave an Alarm to the Council of State. Nor could they imagine any Pretence for this their present Presumption, but from some private Engagement given them by General *Monk* and his Army. They very well knew the City had been conferring with him upon this very Point of new Representatives, or restoring the secluded Members; as also in their Letter deliver'd at *Morpeth*, and afterwards by their Commissioners at *Harborough*; which led the Junto into Suspicion of some secret Practice between them. The City had the same Cause of Provocation before, yet never dar'd to run into such violent Counsels, till *Fleetwood's* Army was remov'd, and the Northern Forces were quartered among them, from whom they receiv'd Encouragement, and expected Support.

XI. BUT to prevent this Insolence in the City before it could fix it self, and become exemplary to others, as also for the better Discovery of General *Monk* and his Army, the Council of State sent for him late at Night, *February* 8. (where were present the other Commissioners for governing the Army) and gave him Orders to march his Regiments the next Morning early into the City, and to quarter upon them till he had reduced them to Obedience; in the mean while, to secure

Feb. 8.

eleven of the moſt active Perſons of the Common Council, (whoſe Names were inſerted) and to take down the Chains and Poſts in the ſeveral Streets, and to unhinge their Gates and Port-cullices. Nor did they allow him longer Time to deliberate upon this extraordinary Action than till the next Morning.

XII. THOUGH the General was ſomewhat ſurpriz'd with this outragious Reſolution of the Juncto, yet at the firſt Offer of it to him, he preſently took the right Scent of their Deſign. And therefore, concealing his Diſlike of them, he accepted their Orders, reſolving to make his own Uſe of them. For though the Manner was not agreed on, yet the General had deſign'd, before he came out of *Scotland*, to put an End to the Excreſcence of a Parliament, ſo ſoon as he was well ſettled in *London*. And this inſolent Reſolution they had taken up, of violating the City, would give him the faireſt Advantage upon them, (not only to the City and Nation, but alſo to his whole Army) that he could expect. And that the Juncto might thereby loſe for ever their Intereſt and Credit, the General was contented to adventure his own, in becoming the Inſtrument of their Malice and Revenge. And, to prevent all Impreſſion upon him to the contrary, they kept him in Diſcourſe with them, giving him particular

Inſtructions

Inſtructions for performing their Commands, till towards two in the Morning; which was ſo late, that ſuch of his Attendants, who knew any thing of Mr. *Sturdy*'s Information, began to ſuſpect ſome ill Deſign upon his Perſon.

XIII. BUT the next Morning early, *February* 9. the General commanded the March of his Army up into the City, without adviſing with any of his own Officers. And having plac'd his main Guards at the *Old Exchange*, and other convenient Places, he retir'd himſelf to the *Three Tuns* Tavern near *Guild-Hall*, where he diſpatch'd his Orders to ſome of his Officers, for the taking up the Poſts and Chains, and ſent others to apprehend thoſe eleven Citizens, whom the Council of State had commanded him to ſecure. This ſudden Violence offered to the City, and by that Hand from whom they leaſt ſuſpected it, did at preſent rather ſurprize the People with Amazement at the Indignity of it, than move their Paſſions; ſo that all things appear'd as if the Town had that Morning been taken by Storm, or enter'd by a foreign Army. *Feb.* 9.

XIV. BUT not only the Citizens, but moſt alſo of his own ſuperior Officers were ſo aſtoniſh'd at this unreaſonable and odious Employment, that they frankly expreſſed their

Reſentment, and offer'd him their Commiſſions. The General gave them ſome little Light into his own Apprehenſions of this infamous Service they had put upon him; but commanded them to obey his Orders at preſent, and to truſt his Diſcretion with the Conſequence.

XV. SEVERAL alſo of the principal Citizens addreſs'd themſelves to him, and with that Temper and Prudence expoſtulated this unworthy Uſage and Indignity put upon them, as the General was greatly concern'd for the Injury they had ſuffer'd. So that the ſame Night he diſpatch'd Letters to the Council, informing them, that he had obey'd their Orders in ſecuring the Perſons they commanded, except two of them, that had been too nimble for him; and that the next Morning the Lord Mayor had appointed a Meeting of the Common Council, where he hoped they would come to a better Reſolution, and Temper of ſubmitting themſelves to the Authority of Parliament, without the Neceſſity of any further Severity upon them.

XVI. BUT the Council of State was reſolved, now their Hand was in, to do their Work to purpoſe, and effectually to humble that lofty City. And therefore they return'd him a further Command, not only to take down their

their Gates and Port-cullices, according to their first Order, but also now to break them in pieces: And, that they might have the full Stroke of their Revenge upon the Common Council, for their daring Resolution of paying no more Taxes, they had decreed they should never meet more; and therefore instantly passed a Vote to dissolve the present Common Council of the City.

XVII. THESE second Orders did more deeply incense the General against the Council of State; but seeing them make such Haste to their own Infamy, he was resolv'd now to execute their Commands to the full, and venture the Issue. The next Day therefore the Feb. 10. Gates and Port-cullices were taken down, and the Soldiers broke them in pieces; but with such Reflection upon the Parliament in chusing them to this base Employment, in making them the Executioners of their Passion and Revenge upon those who had receiv'd them kindly, that the Citizens, being more ready to excuse the Stone which hurt them, converted all their Indignation upon the Arm that threw it, and loudly arraign'd this Insolence of the Junto. They who attended the General in this Business, and were curious in observing the Tracks of his Countenance, found he was neither well pleas'd with his Employment, nor the Company a-

bout him. For *Hazlerig* and *Walton*, (who were equal Commissioners with him in commanding the Army) and others, were continual Espials upon him, both in observing how fully he gave out the Junto's Orders, and at what Rate they were executed by his Officers and Soldiers. Only Colonel *Morley*, who was another of the Commissioners, and at that Time entrusted with the Command of the Tower, so far dislik'd these Proceedings, as he came this Day to the General at his Quarters in the City, and offer'd to him the Assistance of his own and Colonel *Fag*'s Regiment, with the Force and Arms of the Tower, to oppose or moderate these dangerous Resolutions of the Council of State. Nor were there wanting some Members of the Junto it self, that, apprehending the dangerous Effects of this Violence upon the City, did greatly accuse these Methods of the abjuring Party in the Council of State. But tho' the General's Displeasure went no further than his Countenance, yet several of his Officers could not conceal their Resentments, accusing the Junto, that they had as much contriv'd the Infamy of the *Scotch* Army, as the Discharge of their own Insolence and Revenge, in commanding them to this odious Service.

XVIII. This Action of General *Monk* towards

wards the City, was variouſly cenſur'd by all that underſtood not, in thoſe Times, nor, perhaps, at this Day, in what Circumſtances he was then plac'd. For the Orders ſign'd by the Council of State, to march the Army into the City, were not directed to General *Monk* alone, but alſo to the other Commiſſioners, whereof *Hazlerig*, *Walton*, and *Morley* were upon the Place, and, ever ſince his Arrival into *London*, had acted jointly with him. So that, had the General refus'd his Orders, the others, being able to carry it by the major Vote, might have done the Buſineſs without him, and, by Conſequence, might have put it to the Hazard of removing him from the Command of his own Army, or have recall'd *Fleetwood* and his Forces into the City, to balance or oppoſe him.

XIX. GENERAL *Monk*, who better underſtood all this than they who haſtily cenſured his Proceedings, was reſolv'd at preſent to accept whatever Orders were impos'd on him, rather than, by refuſing, to hazard his Command and Intereſt in his own Army. For he very well knew this preſent State of things could not poſſibly hold long, but that the furious and violent Proceedings of the Junto, and the Odium they would draw upon themſelves thereby, and the further Diſcontent

content in the City and Nation, and in his own Army against them, would quickly give him some more seasonable Opportunity of entering upon his retir'd and conceal'd Designs, of putting an End to this Session.

XX. Being now possessed with the Devils of Jealousy and Mischief, the very same Day the Council of State had employ'd General *Monk* to break down the Gates of the City, they had conjur'd up a Legion of evil Spirits as bad, or worse, than themselves, with a Petition to the Juncto, as extravagantly mischievous as their own Votes, and much of the same Stamp, requiring the Oath of Abjuration to be taken by all Persons in any publick Employments, and other villainous Matters. This was a Contrivance of the more violent Party of the Juncto and Council of State, who were so jealous of the General, that he would not be a fit Instrument for them; that they were caballing with *Vane*, *Ludlow*, and *Lambert*, and other Officers of the *English* Army, to make a Party against him.

XXI. These treacherous Designs were not so secretly manag'd, but that General *Monk*'s Officers had taken Notice of them, and apprehended the Consequences; so that on the same Night he had concluded his Orders

ders in the City, and was return'd to *White-Hall*) some of them came to him, and repreſented the dangerous Effects of that Day's Work in the City, by which they had provok'd and diſoblig'd the Metropolis of the Kingdom; and the Noiſe of this Action, together with their own Infamy, would quickly ſpread all the Nation over; that ſuch another Piece of Work would certainly ruin them; and yet at the ſame time they who employed them therein, were Confederate with their profeſt Enemies, and contriving Parties againſt them; that they had very few Friends whom they could truſt, and in the Parliament Houſe, and Council of State, none at all.

XXII. NOTHING could have been more pleaſing to the General than this Diſcourſe of his own Officers, by which he found the late Proceedings in *London* had not only render'd the Juncto odious to the City, but alſo to his own Army; ſo that of themſelves they had recover'd that Temper which he had ſo long been contriving to inceníe into them. For the only Reaſon why he had hitherto comply'd with the Juncto was, becauſe he thought his own Officers were not yet fit for any other Impreſſion. But now being of themſelves poſſeſs'd with ſuch Jealouſies againſt them for their late Actions, though he would gladly have had a little more Space to deliberate

berate upon his next Methods, yet he was reſolv'd to make uſe of this preſent Paſſion in his Officers, and adventure upon the Deſign out of hand, which otherwiſe muſt have coſt him longer Time, and the Contrivance of ſome other Pretence. Having therefore ſuch Officers about him as he could beſt truſt, which were only of his own Army, except Colonel *Saunders* and Major *Barton*, it was agreed to declare their Apprehenſions the next Morning to the Parliament in an expoſtulatory Letter, the Heads whereof were drawn up: That the *Scotch* Army had receiv'd juſt Cauſe of Apprehenſion from their late Proceedings, having entertain'd Correſpondencies with *Lambert* and other Officers, who had ſo lately rebell'd againſt them: That they had admitted *Ludlow* to ſit in their Houſe, after the *Iriſh* Officers had laid Treaſon to his Charge, and were in Readineſs to prove it: And that they had countenanc'd and accepted a late ſcandalous Petition, for the obtruding new Oaths upon the free-born People of the Nation, by which the beſt and moſt ſober Perſons would be excluded from having any Share in the Government, and the conſcientious Clergy would be diſabled from their Miniſtry and Maintenance. They were therefore requeſted, ſo far to comply with the united Deſires of the Nation, as in a Week's Time, to iſſue out Writs for the filling up

their Houſe, and, concluding their own Seſſion by the ſixth of *May*, they would then give Place for the convening a full and free Parliament. But before the General went to Bed, being reſolv'd to adviſe no more with the other Commiſſioners in the Conduct of his own Army, by his ſole Authority he gave out Orders for the March of his Forces the next Day into the City, and that ſeveral of his principal Officers ſhould attend him the next Morning at his Quarters in *White-Hall.*

XXIII. His Secretaries ſate up late that Night to form the forementioned Heads into a Letter, and to tranſcribe Copies of it, one whereof was ſent away very early to the Preſs, and the other was to be ſign'd by the General and his Officers, whereof about fifteen were come together very early, and the Letter being read to them, they all readily ſet their Hands to it, and it was dated *Febru-* *Feb.* 11.
ary 11. The General then commanded Colonel *Cloberry* and Colonel *Lidcot* to carry it to the Houſe. But before his Letter could poſſibly be deliver'd at *Weſtminſter*, the General had left *White-Hall*, and went up into *London*, and there he led his Forces to a Rendezvous in *Finsbury* Fields, having firſt ſent away Commiſſary *Clarges* and

to Sir *Thomas Allen*, then Lord Mayor,

with

with an Account of his coming, desiring him also to assign Quarters for the Reception of his Army in the City.

XXIV. The Work which the General and his Forces had made among them the Day before, quickly affected the City with a near Apprehension of this his early Return among them this Morning, so that his Messengers found but a cold Entertainment, when they came to talk with the Lord Mayor about Quarters for his Army, which he had rather wish'd were further off. Nor had they any Authority to acquaint him with the Secret of the General's Letter sent this Morning to the Juncto.

XXV. But in Conclusion the Lord Mayor, having advis'd with Sir *John Robinson*, and other principal Citizens, was contented at last to receive a Visit from the General, and to discourse with him about quartering his Army. Whereupon a Messenger was dispatch'd into *Finsbury* Fields, intreating him to hasten his Return (it being now late) to the Lord Mayor's House in *Leadenhall-street*, where his Lordship expected him at Dinner. So soon as he came in, he presently observ'd, the Interview between them was not with that Countenance and Freedom as formerly, which the Lord Mayor in some Measure excused,

from

from the late Diſorders which had happen'd in the City. To which the General reply'd: *That his Return this Day among them was chiefly to rectify thoſe Miſunderſtandings, which had lately ariſen between himſelf and the City; and, to that End, entreated his Lordſhip to diſpatch away his Orders unto the Aldermen and Common Council,* (which was the ſame the Juncto had diſſolved) *deſiring them to give him a Meeting in the Afternoon at their* Guild-Hall: Which was accordingly done before they ſat down to Dinner.

XXVI. THE General met with better Entertainment at the Lord Mayor's Table, than his Letters had done with the Juncto at *Weſtminſter*; who had been debating upon them all the Morning. The appointing them a definite Day for the concluding of their own Seſſion, they look'd upon but as a more civil Way of diſſolving them. But the filling up the Vacancies of the Houſe by new Elections, did touch them in the moſt tender and eſſential Part of their Power and Being; ſince they very well knew, it was ſcarce poſſible to get ſuch Perſons return'd that would be as violent and miſchievous as themſelves: But if the People were left to their free Choice, (which could not now be hindered) they would furniſh them with ſuch Elections, as

ſhould be able to out-vote them in every thing, and haply call them to account for the Villanies they had committed.

CHAP. XVIII.

I. *The Juncto diſſemble their Reſentments:* II. *And ſend a Letter of Thanks to the General, for his ready Obedience to their late Orders, inviting him to return to* White-Hall. III. *The Reſentments of the General's Officers towards theſe Meſſengers of the Juncto.* IV. *The General's Command of Temper.* V. *He meets the Court of Aldermen and Common Council.* VI. *His Speech to them.* VII. *Great Joy in the City.* VIII. *The General quarters at the Glaſs-Houſe in* Broad-ſtreet. IX. *The Juncto has the Name of* Rump *Parliament given it.* X. *A Scheme of the Rump Parliament for over-ruling the General.* XI. *The Author's Obſervation upon the Folly of it.* XII. *The General removes his Quarters to* Drapers-Hall. XIII. *The Council of State deſire his Return to* White-Hall, *and the Citizens his Continuance among them.* XIV. *Applications to him from all Parties;* XV. *But particularly*

ticularly from the ſecluded Members. XVI. *A general Character of the ſecluded Members.* XVII. *At a Conference between ſome of the ſecluded Members, and as many of the Juncto; the Juncto give their Reaſons againſt the Readmiſſion of the others.* XVIII. *The Anſwer of the ſecluded Members.* XIX. *One great Difficulty which obſtructed their Union.* XX. *A Propoſal of the General's for the Removal of that Difficulty.*

I. THE governing and abjuring Party in the Houſe, who had all along been jealous of the General, began now to magnify their own Politicks, in the Proſpect of his Defection; whilſt the more temperate among them were as ready to accuſe the other's violent and extravagant Proceedings, which had enforc'd him to uſe theſe Methods with them. But knowing themſelves unable (having given him the Poſſeſſion of the City) to deal with him by Force, they were reſolv'd to over-reach him by their Diſſimulation. And therefore, concealing all Reſentment of his Letter, they appointed their two uſual evil Angels, *Scot* and *Robinſon*, to attend him in the City, where they found him at the Lord Mayor's Houſe, preſently after they had riſen from Dinner.

II. They acquainted him with the Thanks of the Houſe for his faithful Service, in ſecuring the Peace of the City: And that, before the Receipt of his Letter, they were debating upon Qualifications of ſuch Members as ſhould be choſen for the filling up the Houſe, which ſhould be diſpatch'd as ſpeedily as their other weighty Affairs would give them Leiſure: Concluding with the Parliament's eſpecial Confidence and Eſtimation of him, and inviting his Return again to *White-Hall.*

III. The Officers who were preſent, could not diſſemble their Diſcontents againſt the Juncto, but charged them with Perfidy and Ingratitude; and that they were deſigning rather to put themſelves into the Protection of their late Enemies, than to oblige the Army which had reſtored them. And thoſe Officers eſpecially, whoſe Commiſſions had been vacated in *Scotland* by the Juncto's Authority, (though they were yet continued in their Command by the ſole Authority of the General) had not parted with their Diſcontents and Revenge againſt them.

IV. The General, whoſe Cunning it was to expreſs his own Reſentments by the Paſſion of his Officers, was not diſpleaſed with this their Freedom, nor did he concern himſelf

ſelf to moderate their Heats; but, after his grave and ſolemn Manner, he at laſt told Mr. *Scot* and Mr. *Robinſon*, *That if the Parliament were pleaſed to purſue the Advice of his Letter, in iſſuing out their Writs by* Friday *next for filling up the Houſe, all would be very well, nor would there be any Cauſe of further Suſpicion among them.* But this free and ſmart Diſcourſe of the *Scotch* Officers to theſe two Senators, was ſo different from thoſe Obſervances which had been paid to them, when they march'd together towards *London*, that they took their Leave not over-well ſatisfy'd, and return'd back to *Weſtminſter*.

V. So ſoon as they were gone, the General was mindful of his Appointment for meeting the Court of Aldermen and Common Council at *Guild-Hall*, whither he was conducted by the Lord Mayor, through an infinite Multitude of People, who upon the News of his intended coming thither, were aſſembled, in Expectation of ſome great Novelty from him. The Copy alſo of his Letter to the Juncto, which in the Morning had been ſent to the Preſs, was before this Time publickly expoſed in Print.

VI. AT his coming the General having friendly ſaluted this Aſſembly of principal

Citizens, told them: *That the laſt Time he was among them, he had ſubmitted to the moſt faſtidious Employment of his whole Life; the Execution of which was as contrary to his own Inclinations, as the Obligations he had to their City. That being paſt and done, he could only be ſorry for thoſe Affronts which had been put upon them againſt his Will. That this Day he had reſolv'd to render a fuller Anſwer to their Letters, than he was able to do at* Morpeth, *where he received them; and, in Compliance with their Deſires then, he had this Morning written to the Parliament, to iſſue out their Writs, within ſeven Days, for filling up their Houſe, and by the ſixth of* May *next to diſſolve their Aſſembly; and thereby to make Room for the ſitting down of a full and free Parliament. In the Interim he was reſolv'd to quarter his Army in their City, and to continue himſelf among them, till he ſaw how the Contents of his Letter, and the Deſires of the City and Nation, were performed.*

VII. The Acclamations of that great and numerous Aſſembly of *Grecians* at the *Iſthmian* Games, when *Flaminius* unexpectedly proclaim'd Liberty to all the Cities of *Greece*, was hardly greater than the Joy of the City upon the News of their Deliverance from the

Bondage

Bondage of this Junćto. It is not eaſy to ſay, whether the Citizens were more ſurpriz'd with what the General told them this Day, or what they had ſuffer'd by his Soldiers the Day before, when their Poſts and Chains were remov'd, and their Gates and Port-cullices broken down. But the Hopes of ſeeing ſo ſpeedy an End put to the Parliament, and the convening of another, was ſo welcome News, that all Places were preſently fill'd with an univerſal Joy and Exultation; and Quarters were preſently ſet out for the General's Regiments, which hitherto had ſtood all Day on their Arms, but now Meat and Drink was ſent to them from almoſt every Houſe in the City.

VIII. THE General, having done his Buſineſs at *Guild-Hall*, took Leave of the Citizens, who expreſſed a very particular Satisfaction and Confidence in him. And from thence he went to the *Bull-Head* Tavern in *Cheapſide*, where he order'd the Quarters of his Forces, and the ſettling the Guards that Night, for the Security of the City. From whence he went very late to quarter, for the preſent, at the Glaſs-Houſe in *Broadſtreet*; which having only Accommodation for his own Perſon, his principal Attendants, and ſome Officers that were always near him, were forc-

ed to ſit up all Night, and watch with his Guards.

IX. But before this, the Apprentices and common People, in Deteſtation of the Juncto, (to whom they had given, this Night, the laſting Name of the *Rump* Parliament) had ſet all the Bells in the City on ringing, and kindled Bonefires in every Street, which continued till Morning; and this *Saturday* Night, *Feb.* 11. *February* 11. was called the roaſting of the *Rump*.

X. But leaving now the General in his Quarters, and the Citizens to their Jollity, we will retreat a little while, (though late) to *Weſtminſter*, and ſee what this new named Rump Parliament had, this Afternoon and Evening, been doing there. When their Meſſengers, *Scot* and *Robinſon*, return'd from the General out of the City, they gave the Houſe an Account of his Actions there, and with what Diſcourſe they had been entertain'd by his Officers, which led them into further Jealouſy, both of the General and his Army; inſomuch that they call'd for the late Order of their Houſe, appointing five Commiſſioners for the governing of the Army, to be read to them; whereupon they ſtruck out *Overton*, becauſe, being abſent at *Hull*, he could be of no Uſe to them, and put in Colonel *Alured*, who

who was upon the Place. Three of these five were to make a *Quorum*; but it being mov'd, that General *Monk* might be always one of the three for the *Quorum*, upon the Vote it was carried against him: So that, though they durst not take away his Commission *in Terminis*, yet in Effect and Consequence they had done it. For Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*, *Alured*, and *Walton*, were at any Time sufficient to over-rule General *Monk* and Colonel *Morley*. And thus they thought they were even with him, for enforcing them to fill up their House, and to determine their Session at a Day.

XI. THE present Age has sufficiently expos'd the Villanies of these Men, but Posterity will laugh at their Follies also. For tho' the little Foplins of their Party have magnify'd them as the prime Politicians of the World, yet this was an Instance of their weak and impotent Malice, by so fooliſh a Revenge to provoke a great and powerful General, who had an Army so much at his Devotion, and was possess'd of the City, where he had been too nimble for them, by recovering in an Instant his Estimation among the People, and leaving the Odium of what he had done upon themselves. So that now he was in a Condition to baffle them, and all the Commissioners to boot; and to despise

the Weakneſs of their Rage, in ſhewing their Teeth when they durſt not bite.

BUT though the prevailing Faction of the Rump Parliament had been ſo inconſiderate as to diſoblige him, yet the General was too diſcreet to take any publick Notice of it at preſent, having many other Irons in the Fire; nor was his own Army (though in a good Tendency towards it) yet fully brought to that Reſolution and Temper he aimed at.

XII. BUT this Diſcontent, ariſing between the Juncto and General *Monk*'s Army, was very welcome News to thoſe other Forces under *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*, who now eſteem'd their own Inſolencies juſtify'd, when they diſcern'd the Army from *Scotland*, which the Houſe had ſo much rely'd upon, were likely alſo to quarrel with them. Nor were they without Hopes, if the Jealouſies ſhould encreaſe, to make their own Advantage thereby, and that their old Maſters would be enforced to ſeek Protection from them againſt General *Monk*; who yet was more wary and conſiderate, than to let things run to ſuch Extremity, as ſhould give any other Party Advantage upon him.

WE had left him in his ſtrait Quarters at the Glaſs-Houſe; but now, the following Week, he remov'd thence to *Drapers-Hall*, where,

where, with the Addition of another large Houſe (of Alderman *Wale*'s) adjoining, he had Convenience enough for the Reception of all his Attendants, and for the quartering of his Guards.

XIII. AND now the Rump Parliament finding they were too weak to deal with him either by Tricks or Force, continued their further Applications and Meſſages to him: The Council of State alſo, *February* 13. invited him again to aſſiſt them with his Preſence and Counſels; to which he return'd Anſwer the Day following: *That till the Oaths were withdrawn, he could not poſſibly attend them; but, for the preſent, his Continuance in the City was further neceſſary, becauſe of thoſe Diſcontents there, which were occaſioned by themſelves, having diſtributed ſeven thouſand Arms out of their Stores into the Hands of* Anabaptiſts, *and other dangerous* Fanaticks; *and that his own Forces were greatly alarm'd, till theſe Arms were again recall'd.* But the Juncto, and Council of State, were not more importunate to recover him again to *White-Hall*, than the Citizens were to perſuade his Continuance among them, as being moſt for his own Safety, as well as theirs. At the ſame Time he was alſo inform'd of ſeveral ill Practices againſt him, contriv'd by ſome in the Council of State, in ſending *Feb.* 13.

ſending ſeveral Male-contents, and other violent Sectaries, about the Counties where *Fleetwood*'s Army quartered; poſſeſſing them with Jealouſies againſt General *Monk* and his Forces; that they had enter'd into ſecret Deſigns with the City of *London*, to alter the Government, and to introduce the King. Some of theſe Reports he took publick Notice of; others he contemn'd.

XIV. DURING his Abode in his Quarters at *Drapers-Hall*, he was continually beſet with Applications to him from the ſeveral Intereſts in the City, and from the Heads of the Presbyterians and Independent Parties; to whom he return'd ſuch Anſwers as the Condition of his Affairs would allow.

XV. THE Meſſages alſo from *Weſtminſter* were ſtill daily continued: But, above all the reſt, that Intereſt in the City and Country, which the General could beſt truſt, had now begun very powerful Addreſſes to him, for the reſtoring the formerly ſecluded Members. The General had before reſolv'd to accompliſh his Deſign of introducing the Monarchy by other Methods; but finding it to be the univerſal Inclination of a powerful Intereſt to readmit the ſecluded Members, he began to approve of it, as the moſt ſafe and eaſy Step he could poſſibly make forward at this

this time. Only he very well knew the Juncto, now ſitting, would be rather willing to fill up their Houſe by new Elections (a great Part whereof might probably be New-comers) than conſent to the Return of theſe ſecluded Members, whom they had formerly diſobliged by ſo impudent and injurious a Seclusion. He conſider'd alſo, that the *Engliſh* Army, who had been the Inſtruments of that Violence, would grow very apprehenſive upon the News of their Return: Nor was he perfectly well ſatisfied in the Inclination of his own Officers. But reſolving to make ſome Eſſay, how far the Contrivance would go, he was contented to receive Viſits from ſeveral of thoſe ſecluded Members, having ſtill order'd the Buſineſs ſo, that ſome of his Officers ſhould be preſent at the Diſcourſe.

XVI. THESE Gentlemen were moſtly of the Presbyterian Intereſt, and ſome of them had been buſy enough in beginning the Misfortunes of their King and Country; but were now grown wiſer, by the Experience of their Miſtakes, and the Miſeries of a Civil War, which had ended in almoſt their own undoing, as well as the Death of the King. Some of them alſo were Perſons of good Eſtate, and Quality, and eaſily apprehended the Inſecurity of their Condition and Fortunes, whilſt a violent Juncto of Robbers and Republicans govern'd

govern'd at *Weſtminſter*, and were ſupported by an Army of needy and boiſterous Fanaticks. They now ſaw clearly there was no way left to ſettle the Nation, but by reſtoring the Monarchy; only they would firſt fit it to their Church Diſcipline, and melt down the Crown into a new Form, and reduce the Sceptre to a Length of their own. For the Proſecution of theſe Ends, they were as eager to be again fingering the Government, as the Juncto, then ſitting, were to keep them out of it. But being Men of much better Morals and Principles than moſt of the other; they had the Prudence to propoſe their own Readmiſſion with that Moderation and Temper, as was very acceptable to the General and his Officers. They aſſur'd them, that their Return would not interfere with the General's Declaration in *Scotland*, in behalf of the Parliament as it ſat *October* 7. for it was ſtill the ſame Parliament that would be continued. They convinc'd them that having, by the ſame Declaration, undertaken to ſubject the Military Power in Obedience to the Civil, they had oblig'd themſelves to ſecure their Readmiſſion, ſince they had been remov'd from their Places by the Violence of the Army.

XVII. The General and his Officers were ſo well ſatisfy'd with this Propoſal, that, in the next Place, they were reſolv'd to hear what

what could be alledg'd againſt them. To that Purpoſe it was agreed, that ſome of theſe ſecluded Members ſhould meet at a Conference with a like Number of thoſe now ſitting, which was accordingly done on *Saturday Feb.* 18. the General and his Officers being preſent. Where it was pretended by thoſe now ſitting, that ſince the Removal of the ſecluded Members, ſo many things had been done, both as to Change of the Government, Liberty of Conſcience, and the Sale of publick Lands, as was likely to be all interrupted and diſordered again, by the Return of theſe Members, to the further Prejudice, and retarding the Settlement of the Commonwealth. Feb. 18.

XVIII. To this the ſecluded Members reply'd: That they would not bring with them their Paſſions nor Revenge into the Houſe, nor concern themſelves in any Man's Property, nor loſe Time in reflecting back upon what had been done in their long Abſence; but would direct all their Thoughts forward, in purſuing ſuch Counſels as might lay a better Foundation of Settlement to the Commonwealth; and leave things in ſome good Order, for the further Endeavour of the Parliament which ſhould ſucceed them. Moſt of thoſe Gentlemen from the Juncto, were of the moderate Party in the Houſe, who were weary'd with the Extravagances of their

Fellows, and would be contented to ſtrengthen their Intereſt by the Acceſſion of the ſecluded Members. But becauſe the Inclination of the Houſe could not be given but by their Vote in Parliament, they parted on both Sides without coming to any final Agreement.

XIX. When they were withdrawn, the General enter'd into further Diſcourſe with his Officers, where ſeveral of them were inclinable enough to reſtore the ſecluded Members. But others among them, of the Independent Perſuaſion, (who had been tamper'd with by the Heads of their Party) began to demur upon it, unleſs thoſe Members would give Security, to declare for the Government of a Commonwealth, and Liberty of Conſcience, and that they would conſent to a further Act for Confirmation of publick Sales.

XX. To ſatisfy theſe Scruples in thoſe who offer'd them, the General appointed three Perſons of his principal Truſt, to debate theſe Points further with ſome of the ſecluded Members, in a Conference next Day; which *Feb.* 19. was to be held at Mr. *Anneſly's* Houſe, the preſent Earl of *Angleſey*. The ſecluded Members were not willing to depart from their firſt Length; but, upon a further Debate, gave them freſh Aſſurance, that they would

would make no Alteration in the preſent Government, but leave that Point wholly to the next Parliament. And for an Act to confirm the Sale of publick Lands, they were not yet reſolv'd to paſs any Act at all. But, that there might be no Jealouſy upon them, they were content to be limited in the chief Points they ſhould conſult upon; and, in one Month's Time, to conclude their Seſſion.

CHAP. XIX.

I. *The General reſolves upon the Admiſſion of the ſecluded Members, upon certain Terms*; II. *Which they ſubmit to.* III. *They are admitted into the Houſe.* IV. *The Behaviour of the Junto upon their Admiſſion.* V. *The Lords alſo deſire to be reſtored to their Seats.* VI. *The General declares that he has no Intention to alter the preſent Conſtitution of a free State, or Commonwealth, in order to ſet up* Charles Stuart, *or any ſingle Perſon.* VII. *He is made Commander in Chief of all the Land Forces, but in the Navy* Mountague *is joined with him.* VIII. *Sir* George Booth

Booth *and others diſcharg'd from Impriſonment, and* Lambert *impriſon'd.* IX. *The Oath of Abjuration voted down, and the Council of State, another being appointed, moſt of whom were well affected to the King.* X. *Mr.* William Morrice *admitted as a Domeſtick in the General's Quarters.*

I. ALL this while the General was very uneaſy in the preſent State of things. From the Junto now ſitting he expected no good. The *Engliſh* Forces in the Country began to be mutinous; and ſome of his own Officers, by long deliberating, were grown more unſettled. So that he was now reſolved, without further Ceremony, to put ſome Stay to the Courſe of things, by admitting the ſecluded Members. To that End, *Mun-*
Feb. 20. *day, February* 20. he deſired a Meeting again with them, and had appointed four Articles to be drawn ready, which ſhould be ſubſcribed by all that were preſent, and by thoſe alſo who were abſent, before they were admitted into the Houſe.

FIRST, *To ſettle the Conduct of the Armies in the three Nations, ſo as might beſt ſecure the Peace of the Commonwealth.* Secondly, *To provide for the Support of the Forces by Sea and Land, and Money alſo for their*

their Arrears, and the Contingencies of the Government. Thirdly, *To conſtitute a Council of State for the Civil Government of* Scotland *and* Ireland, *and to iſſue out Writs for the ſummoning a Parliament to meet at* Weſtminſter *the* 20th *of* April. Fourthly, *To conſent to their own Diſſolution by a Time that ſhould be limited to them.*

II. So ſoon as they were aſſembled, the Articles were read to them, and willingly ſubſcribed by all then preſent, who were ſo very well ſatisfy'd with this Method he had taken, that they promis'd to give him a Commiſſion of General over all the Forces in the three Nations, both by Sea and Land. Which indeed at this Time was alſo a ſeaſonable Offer; for his old one granted by the Junto being confin'd to the 22d of *February*, was to expire within two Days.

At their parting with him, the General intreated them to meet him the next Morning at his late Quarters in *White-Hall.*

The next Morning early he left the City, *Feb.* 21. and his Head-Quarters, to which he never return'd more, and haſten'd to *White-Hall*, where he met the ſecluded Members, whom he entertain'd with a ſhort Speech, recommending to them the Care of the Nations, and to keep their Word with him, aſſuring

them, he ſhould impoſe nothing new upon them; which was punctually perform'd by him during their whole Seſſion. And then order'd Major *Miller*, who commanded his Guards, to conduct them into the Houſe of Commons, and divers alſo of his other Officers attended them to the Door.

IV. This Reſolution of admitting them that Morning into the Houſe, was ſo privately carry'd, that the old Junto were infinitely ſurpris'd and diſorder'd when they ſaw them enter. The violent and abjuring Party preſently found, that it would not be worth their while to keep their Seats, and therefore reſign'd them to theſe new Comers, and quitted the Houſe, ſome of them muttering their Diſcontents againſt the General, as they went out of the Door. But the more moderate Party among them congratulated the Return of the ſecluded Members; and both Sides preſently apply'd themſelves to their Buſineſs.

V. But whilſt the ſecluded Members of the Houſe of Commons were thus earneſtly treating with the General for their Readmiſſion, ſome of the Nobility, and particularly the Earl of *Strafford*, were as importunate with him for the reſtoring the Lords alſo to their Seſſion. But the wary General thought the Return

Return of the Commons was as fair and ſafe a Length as he durſt adventure to go at one Step, reſerving the Admiſſion of the Peers to a further Conſideration, and the Temper of that Parliament that was to ſucceed.

VI. THE General having thus placed the ſecluded Members again in their Seats, and fearing what Diſorders the News thereof might raiſe among the diſtant Forces of the *Engliſh* Army, was reſolv'd to ſatisfy them preſently with the Reaſon and Neceſſity of what he had done, before they ſhould receive any worſe or different Impreſſions from others. And to that Purpoſe he commanded the ſame Day a Council of his Officers to attend him, and to draw up a ſatisfactory Letter to all the remote Forces and Garriſons of the three Nations, concerning the Readmiſſion of the ſecluded Members; aſſuring them, that nothing was thereby intended to alter the preſent Conſtitution of a free State or Commonwealth; that without reſtoring theſe Members the preſent Conſtitution of the Houſe could raiſe no Money for Support of the Army and Navy, which now would be ſpeedily rais'd and ſent to them, and the ſucceeding Parliament, which was to meet within two Months, ſhould further confirm all publick Sales and Diſpoſitions of Lands in the three Nations. They were then further deſired to

ſend an Officer from their ſeveral Regiments and Garriſons, that might give the Lord General *Monk* an Account of their Compliance with him herein. And, that they might apprehend no Deſign of Alteration upon them, they were alſo ſtrictly requir'd to look after all Perſons deſigning Diſturbances in Favour of *Charles Stuart*, or any other ſingle Perſon, or intended Authority, and to give an Account of them to the Parliament or Council of State. This Letter was dated *February* 21. and ſign'd by the General, with twelve of his Colonels, five Lieutenant Colonels, eight Majors, and ſome few Captains, and preſently ſo many Hands were employed to tranſcribe the Letter, that the ſame Night there were Copies enough ſign'd, and ſent away to every Regiment in *England*, and to all the Commanders in chief in *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

VII. THIS Night the General left *White-Hall*, and ſettled his Head Quarters at St. *James's*, which, being a Place ſomewhat diſtant from the City, would leſs expoſe him to Viſits, and Obſervations upon him, and where he might more privately make ready thoſe farther ſecret Contrivances, which were next to come upon the Stage. Here he receiv'd an Account, what Vote the Houſe had paſs'd that Day; having firſt raz'd and expung'd all

thoſe Orders in the Journals, which had been made to authorize their Excluſion. Next they conſtituted his Excellency General *Monk*, Commander in Chief over all the Forces at Sea and Land, in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. But in the Truſt of the Admiralty, they admitted General *Mountague* to an equal Authority with him, which was the firſt falſe Step this newly re-enter'd Parliament made with their Reſtorer, having aſſur'd him of the ſupreme and entire Command, both in their Armies and Navy, without a ſecond Perſon to ſhare with him in either. But of this the General took no notice, being very well ſatisfied of the Worthineſs and good Intentions of his Collegue, and having now, beſides the Conduct of his own Forces, the Care alſo of thoſe two other Armies in *England* and *Ireland*, which were likely to give him Trouble enough.

VIII. THE Houſe alſo appointed the Releaſe of all thoſe Citizens, who had been committed by Order of the late Council of State, and diſcharg'd Sir *George Booth* from his Impriſonment in the Tower, with all thoſe other Gentlemen alſo that had been confin'd with him upon the ſame Account, and order'd Major General *Lambert* to be impriſon'd in their Room. And about the ſame Time Dr. *Wren*, Biſhop of *Ely*, who was Fellow Priſoner

ſoner with General *Monk*, in the Tower, was releas'd alſo at the General's Mediation, after his almoſt twenty Years Confinement there.

IX. The Houſe having voted down the late Council of State, with the Oath of Abjuration, they appointed a new one, (conſiſting of thirty one Perſons) to ſucceed. Moſt whereof for their Character, and good Inclinations towards the King's Service, were accounted of the very Choice and Flower of the Aſſembly, and of this Council the General was one.

X. The Fame of reſtoring the ſecluded Members was quickly ſpread all over the Nation; and they who were already enter'd, diſpatch'd the ſpeedy Advice thereof to their Acquaintance that were abſent in the Countries, who accordingly haſten'd their Return into the Houſe. Among the reſt Mr. *William Morrice* of *Devonſhire* came up to *London*, who being ally'd to the General, and alſo particularly recommended to him for his great Learning and Prudence, by his Brother Mr. *Nicholas Monk*, was retain'd with him as a domeſtick Friend in his Quarters at St. *James's*, where he became an Inſtrument of ſeveral extraordinary Services, which will follow hereafter to be related.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

I. *The General's great Care to ſecure the Obedience of the Army, and Garriſons.* II. *The Condition of* Ireland. III. *Colonel* Overton *mutinies at* Hull, *but ſubmits, and the Garriſon is given to Colonel* Fairfax. IV. *An Act for raiſing one hundred thouſand Pounds a Month for the Support of the Army and Navy.* V. *Another Act for ſettling the Militia.* VI. *The Houſe offers to ſettle* Hampton Court *upon the General and his Heirs.* VII. *As alſo the Government.* VIII. *Both which he rejects.* IX. *The Engagement vacated.* X, XI. *Some Officers propoſe a Declaration againſt Monarchy.* XII. *The Deſign fruſtrated.* XIII. *Colonel* Okey's *Speech for a Commonwealth, without any Houſe of Lords.* XIV. *Which is effectually anſwered by Commiſſary* Clarges. XV. *The General forbids any more Aſſemblies of Officers without his Leave.*

WHILST the Parliament were earneſtly conſulting for the Settlement of the State, General *Monk* begins to exerciſe the Authority of his new Commiſſion, in regulating the Armies, now all united under his Command. And becauſe the publick Safety

was ſo much included in his own, he was prevail'd upon to encreaſe and ſettle his Life-guards, and gave Colonel *Philip Howard* the Command thereof. And being inform'd that Colonel *Rich* was practiſing ſome Diſturbances with his Regiment quartered at *Bury*, he ſent down Colonel *Ingoldsby* to fix thoſe Troops, and gave him the Command of the Regiment. *Desborough*'s Regiment, which the late Junto had given away to Colonel *Walton*, the General entruſted to Colonel *Charles Howard*, now Earl of *Carliſle*, and made him Governor of that Place. And to Major General *Morgan* he diſpatch'd a more authentick Commiſſion for the Government of *Scotland*, and afterward ſent him more Forces, for the further Security of that Nation. Neither did the Garriſons and Caſtles in *Wales* eſcape his Thoughts. He extended his Care to the Security of the more remote Weſtern Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwal*, and from thence back again to the furtheſt Eaſt, in the Settlement of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*; all which, though not done together, we have yet conjoin'd, for the greater Clearneſs and Eaſe of the Reader.

II. In the interim *Ireland* gave him no Trouble for the preſent, where all Things went very well through the Care of Sir *Charles Coot*, and Sir *Theophilus Jones*, and others.

others. *Ludlow* was abſent in *England*, and Sir *Hardreſs Waller* was quickly after ſecured.

III. THIS extraordinary Providence of the General, together with the ſeaſonable and prudent Letter, which he had diſperſed before to the ſeveral Forces, had hitherto kept them in ſome good Order, till Colonel *Overton* at *Hull* fell into his Fits of Mutiny and Diſtraction; who being a zealous Bigot of the fifth Monarchy, and confident of the Strength of the Place, had diſperſed ſeveral Copies of a ſeditious Letter among the Officers and Regiments in the North, one whereof was ſent up to the General by Colonel *Fairfax*, then Governor of *York*. General *Monk* was not ſo much concern'd about the Danger of the Man, as the Quality of the Place he held, and therefore acquainted the Council of State with theſe Practices and Letters, who, together with the General, ſent down Colonel *Alured* and Major *Smith* with their Letters, commanding him, upon the Receipt thereof, to attend them forthwith at *London*, and there to give them an Account of his Fears and Jealouſies. *Overton* found himſelf ſurpriz'd much ſooner than he expected; ſo that he was enforc'd to ſubmit, and deliver up the Garriſon. This was a Place of impregnable Defence and Strength, whither if *Lambert*

bert had retreated with Part of his Army, after his Quarters were broke up at *Newcaſtle*, he might have given all of them Trouble enough, before they could have been able to reduce him. The General was therefore reſolv'd to intruſt this Garriſon in a ſure Hand, and committed it to Colonel *Fairfax*.

IV. HITHERTO he had ſecured the Submiſſion of the Armies by an extraordinary Prudence, which now the Parliament took care to confirm, by a Vote of their Houſe; and knowing nothing could ſo much oblige the Obedience of Soldiers as the Aſſurance of their Pay, they paſſed an Act for the raiſing of one hundred thouſand Pounds *per Menſem*, upon *England* and *Wales*, which was to continue for ſix Months, towards the Support of the Army and Navy.

V. BUT though they had thus provided for their Maintenance, yet they were reſolv'd alſo to take Care for their own Safety. They forgot not that the *Engliſh* Army had been train'd up in Saucineſs and Inſolence; that they had been accuſtom'd to ſhew Tricks at *Weſtminſter* in diſturbing, or diſſolving former Parliaments; and therefore, to prevent the like Violence upon them again, they paſſed another Act for raiſing the Militia in the City and Nation, which was ſo vigorouſly

carried on in *London*, that they had preſently ſettled ſix good Regiments of Foot, and one of Horſe, beſides the auxiliary Forces, being in all twelve thouſand fighting Men. The like Care was alſo uſed in the ſeveral Counties for the ſettling the Commands of their Train'd-bands and County Troops.

VI. THE Entertainment of the Soldiers being thus provided for, it was next thought reaſonable to paſs ſome Vote for rewarding alſo the Service of their General. And to that End thoſe Commonwealth's Men, Members of the late Juncto, that ſtill kept their Places in the Houſe, being deſirous to oblige the General to their Side, or that nothing might be left to ſupport a ſingle Perſon, propounded to ſettle, by Act of Parliament, upon him and his Heirs, the Manour and Honour of *Hampton-Court*, with the Parks and Lands belonging to it, which the Villanies of thoſe Times had not yet ſwallowed; having been reſerv'd from their Jaws by the late Uſurper *Cromwel*, for his own Convenience. And tho' the ſecluded Members, who had been reſtored by the General, could not decently refuſe the Propoſal, yet himſelf utterly declined the firſt Motion of it. But the Houſe having gone ſo far in it, they then engaged to gratify him with the Sum of twenty thouſand Pounds.

VII. THOUGH

VII. THOUGH he had refus'd the Gift of the Crown-Lands, yet ſome of thoſe who had been concern'd in the Murder of the late King, and others who had cut themſelves large Thongs out of the Royal Demeſns, had the Confidence to tamper with him about aſſuming the Government in his own Perſon. And, among the reſt, Sir *Arthur Hazlerig* (to preclude the Reſtoration of the King) offered him one hundred thouſand Hands that ſhould ſubſcribe to his Title.

VIII. IT may ſeem ſtrange, that they who every where diſcovered their Jealouſies againſt him, for reſtoring the King, ſhould now think he might be perſuaded to ſet up himſelf. But ſince they could not interrupt his Deſign by ſuggeſting the former, they had ſecretly contriv'd his Ruin by the Offer of the later. And they who thus officiouſly complimented his Advancement, would have been the firſt Rebels againſt him. But the General, who was immovable in his ſecret Reſolution and Allegiance for reſtoring the King, abhorred the Thoughts of this Propoſal, and gave them ſo cloſe and poſitive an Anſwer, as he was reſolv'd ſhould put an End to all further Addreſſes of that Nature.

IX. THE Houſe was all this while buſy in ſettling

ſettling the Affairs of the Nation for the Convenience of the ſucceeding Parliament, and, among other things, about the 13th of *March* they vacated the Oath called the *Engagement*, which about ten Years before, was impoſed upon the People, and to be taken by all Members of Parliament before their Admiſſion to ſit in the Houſe. But the ſolemn League and Covenant (the Engine or Sacrament of ſo many Miſchiefs) ſtill hung upon the Wall of their Houſe, as the Palladium of the Place, where moſt of them preſent might read their own Names ſubſcribed to it, till a ſucceeding Parliament two Years after, went backward, and covered the Shame of their Predeceſſors, by a Vote of their Houſe, commanding it to be taken down, and diſſolved the Charm it had put upon the Nation, by burning the Witch. *March* 13.

X. THOUGH the Proceedings of the Parliament and the General were managed with a very extraordinary Caution, yet the unquiet Officers of the Army began to be jealous and apprehenſive of their own Danger. They were highly alarmed with two late Votes of the Houſe. The Act for ſettling the Militia throughout the Nation, they eſteem'd a Deſign to balance or maſter the Power of the ſtanding Army; and their late Order for diſſolving the Engagement, which hitherto had been

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the Baſis of the Conſtitution of the Commonwealth, ſeem'd to them as a preparatory Contrivance for changing the Government. Nor were they better contented with the late Methods of the General, in declining ſo fair an Offer of the Crown-Lands, and afterwards of the Government it ſelf. Their own Ambition and Avarice would have skip'd at a much lower Bait; which led them into a deeper Suſpicion of the General's Refuſal, as a Contrivance of going to a better Market, by reſtoring the Monarchy; which would certainly put an End to their inſolent Dominion over Parliaments and People, and expoſe their Necks to anſwer for their Guilt and Villanies, in murdering the King, and changing the Government.

XI. Such Apprehenſions as theſe had ſo far poſſeſſed theſe diſcontented Officers, that they had appointed a Meeting thereupon; where it was unanimouſly reſolv'd to draw up a Declaration, which ſhould be firſt ſign'd by the General and themſelves, and then offer'd to the Parliament. The chief Point whereof was, to declare againſt Monarchy, and the Dominion of any ſingle Perſon under whatſoever Title or Pretence, but that the Government of theſe Nations ſhould continue and remain as a Commonwealth and Free-State; and that the preſent Houſe ſhould paſs

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an Act to eſtabliſh this fundamental and unalterable Conſtitution, in ſuch manner as no ſucceeding Parliament ſhould preſume to change or alter it, otherwiſe they would not hold themſelves oblig'd to protect their Authority. Some of them preſently attended the General with this Paper, deſiring his Conſent and Allowance. Upon the Peruſal whereof, it is hard to ſay whether he was more diſpleas'd or ſurpriz'd. But reſolving to conceal his own Diſlike till he could fruſtrate the Effect of it, he only told them, that to Morrow there would be a general Council of Officers at the Head-Quarters, where he deſired their Paper ſhould be further examined and conſidered.

XII. THIS Declaration of the ſeditious Commanders was ſo directly levelled againſt all the General's next Contrivances, as greatly concern'd him. So that he preſently adviſ'd with his uſual Confidents, how to prevent the Progreſs of this Deſign; and thereupon commanded all his own Officers that he could beſt truſt, to be preſent, and over-rule it. He had before made Mr. *Morrice* a Member of the Army, by giving him the Government of *Plimouth*, deſigning thereby to employ his Prudence and Temper in moderating theſe Aſſemblies. But being a Gentleman that had ſpent his Time in the Silence of his Books

and

and Studies, it render'd him uneasy in the Company of such rude and clamorous Conventions. Commissary *Clarges* was also directed to be present, who, by his long Employment, had so practis'd the Conversation, that he was not easy to be run down or impos'd upon by those violent Hucksters. So that amongst those many extraordinary Services which the Commissary had perform'd in all this Design, the Management of this Day's Conference was very considerable, wherein he proceeded with that Reach and Dexterity, as silenced the Jealousies of those People, and baffled the Contrivance.

March 15. XIII. THE next Morning, being *March* 15. a considerable Party of the Officers were ready at St. *James's*; and Colonel *Okey*, (who could better use his Sword than his Tongue, in Defence of their Commonwealth) began a long and querulous Story of their Fears and Jealousies: *That their good old Cause was like to be left in the Lurch; and such Designs were now on Foot for changing the Government, as must necessarily determine in restoring the King. But, to obviate these growing Evils, there was no other Way, but to oblige the present Junto to declare instantly for the unalterable Continuance of a Free-State, without any House of Lords; or, upon their Refusal, to take*

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ſome other Methods for the Safety of the Commonwealth: So great a Stateſman was this Chandler of *Billingſgate* grown.

XIV. To all which Commiſſary *Clarges* anſwer'd in a cloſe and well-wrought Reply: *That their preſent Jealouſies and Apprehenſions were only imaginary; that they had taken their Meaſures wrong, if they thought to make any Advantage of this Parliament, by ruffling with them, who had formerly boldly withſtood them, when they had leſs Power than now, when the Nation is more on their Side, and wholly reſolv'd againſt the Government of an Army: That the General had oblig'd himſelf to give the Houſe no Diſturbance in their Councils during their Seſſion; and that if he ſhould break this promiſe with them, they had yet Power in their Hands to deal with him, and ſuch other Officers, as they pleas'd, by voting away their Commiſſions: That by ſuch an Addreſs the Houſe would be ſo incenſed, as preſently to paſs a Vote for their own Diſſolution, without taking care of iſſuing out Writs for the ſucceeding Parliament. All which would preſently bring them into ſuch a Labyrinth of Diſorder and Confuſion, as they would not eaſily know where to turn them; unleſs they would meanly ſubmit themſelves again to* Richard Cromwell, *whom they had ſo greatly provok-*

ed; for, as for his Excellency here preſent, they knew his Mind already, ſo that (let them take what Courſe they pleas'd) he was reſolved not to be concern'd in meddling with the Government.

XV. THE General, according to the uſual manner, kept his own Part for the laſt Scene; and, having gravely put them in mind of the Inconveniencies which they had before brought upon themſelves by diſturbing former Parliaments, he told them *the preſent Houſe was ſo near its Concluſion, that no evil Conſequents could be feared from them. And the ſucceeding Parliaments would be called under ſuch Qualifications as muſt neceſſarily ſecure the Government. In the interim, he adviſed them to remember their Duty, and how contrary it was to the good Diſcipline of an Army, to intermeddle in the Civil Government; and then ſtrictly commanded them all to hold no more of theſe Aſſemblies without his Direction.* But, during this Conference, he took ſo particular Notice of ſuch Officers as were moſt forward and turbulent, that he was reſolv'd to worm them out of their Commiſſions by the firſt Opportunity.

CHAP. XXI.

I. *The Presbyterians encouraged by the General, for having good Inclinations towards the King.* II. *A remarkable Instance of his Favour to that Party.* III. *A Design in the Parliament to restore the King; which obliges the General to hasten their Dissolution.* IV. *Two remarkable Votes.* V. *The Parliament dissolved.* VI. *The Council of State continued: They publish a Proclamation: The Army sign an Engagement of Obedience to their General.* VII. *The Royal Party quietly wait the Event of these extraordinary Proceedings.* VIII. *Only Sir* John Greenvil *now resolves to execute his former Commission from the King to the General.*

THE short Session of the secluded Members had already made a very considerable Alteration in the late governing Interests; so that now the Presbyterian Party began to come aloft. The General was not now to be taught the Temper and Principles of the Presbyterians, having seen enough of their Way in those Petulances between the Resolutioner and Remonstrator in *Scotland*, during his long Command among them, and therefore had taken a just Length how far to

intruſt or employ them. He very well knew their Power and Intereſt in the City of *London*, and that there were alſo very many Perſons among them, who, out of Hatred to the late Tyrannies, and Affection to the King, did very paſſionately deſire his Reſtauration, as the beſt Remedy for ſaving their Country, and therefore were very likely to co-operate with him towards his own Ends. And obſerving how abſolutely this People were govern'd by their Clergy, he had receiv'd ſeveral Viſits from the chief of them, and frequently heard ſome of them preach, eſpecially Mr. *Calamy*, the Superintendent of their Party; with whom he ſo far comply'd, as to entertain only ſuch Chaplains to preach before him every Sunday in the Chapel at St. *James's*, as Mr. *Calamy* ſhould pleaſe to ſend him, who was hourly contriving to poſſeſs the Ears of the General with the continual Air and Breath of Presbyterianiſm, and to plant it in his Family, to the further Advantage and Reputation of the Party.

II. But his domeſtick Chaplain Dr. *Price*, who knew nothing of this Intrigue, being deſirous to introduce ſome of the principal Clergy of the Church of *England* to the Favour and Eſtimation of the General, had, one *Sunday*, deſired Dr. *Pearſon* (the preſent Lord Biſhop of *Cheſter*) to preach before him,

him, who was accordingly there preſent. In the interim arrived two Miniſters ſent from the Head of their Order, to perform the Service; but in the bad Way by the Park Wall, their Coach happen'd to make ſo unlucky a Trip, that all came together into the Dirt, ſo that neither of them were in any Condition for a Pulpit, till Dr. *Price* had ſet them to rights again in his Chamber, intreating one of them to preach that *Sunday*, and the other on the next. The General being inform'd what Perſons were there ready to preach, would by no Means accept Dr. *Pearſon*, though he very well underſtood the Value of the Man, and was perſuaded to it by his domeſtick Confident Mr. *Morrice*, but accepted of the Presbyterian Preachers. So careful he was, even in this little Inſtance, not to diſoblige the Party, till he had fully done his Buſineſs with them.

III. THE General having thus palliated the Diſcontents of his Officers, expected no further Rubs in the Current of his Affairs, when preſently he found himſelf incumbred with a new Trouble from the Parliament it ſelf, where ſeveral of the Members, being unwilling to hear of a Diſſolution at the Time prefix'd them, began to contrive Delays for the Continuance of their Seſſion; and foreſeeing the neceſſary Reſtoration of the King,

were desirous to mend their own Markets, in voting home the Son, who had first voted away his Father in the Beginning of the War. The General was acquainted with their daily Proceedings by the nightly Accounts of Mr. *Morrice*, whom he had particularly instructed, by all possible Arts of Diversion, to stave off this present Session from meddling with any Alteration of Government. For the General had at first restored them, rather to prevent the Mischief of the other Parties, than for any great Good they could have done by themselves, having placed his main Hopes upon the Effects of the Parliament which should succeed them. But finding them as willing to hear of their Death, as their Dissolution, he was enforc'd to take the Boldness of putting them in mind of it, by quickening their Pace.

IV. But now the Day for concluding their Session being near at Hand, the House began to make ready for it, having first issued out Writs for chusing the succeeding Parliament against *April* 25. which, by their Agreement with the General, should have been conven'd five Days sooner. And, that they might have an Army at hand, to justify all they had done in the late War, and a succeeding Parliament of their own sanguine Complexion, they concluded their Session with two such

Votes

Votes as gave Entertainment and Diſcourſe to the Nation; one whereof was, that no Commiſſion ſhould be granted to any Officer in the Army that did not firſt acknowledge and declare, that the late War, raiſed by the two Houſes of Parliament in their own Defence againſt the late King, was juſt and lawful. The ſecond was, that whatever Perſon had adviſed, abetted, or aſſiſted in any War againſt the Parliament, ſince the firſt of *January* 1641. neither they, nor their Sons, ſhould be capable of being elected into the next Parliament, unleſs they had before given ſome Teſtimony of their good Affection to the preſent Parliament.

V. AND thus having reſolved to make their End agreeable to their Beginning, on the long deſir'd 17th of *March* this unhappy and fatal Parliament, having been twice excluded, and twice diſmember'd, was at laſt diſſolv'd by their own Act, after they had continued thro' various Interruptions, for almoſt twenty Years, in the Practice of ſuch publick Miſchief and Confuſions, as will ever be remember'd with Horror.

VI. BUT though the Parliament was at an End, yet the Council of State (moſt whereof were of the ſoundeſt and moſt generous Part of the Houſe) continued ſtill their Seſſion,

being appointed by the Parliament to put in Execution, after their Receſs, the Act they had paſt for the Election of Members to ſerve in the next Parliament. They were alſo inſtructed to ſettle more effectually the Militia of the Nation, and to aſſiſt the General in ſecuring the Temper and Obedience of the Army. To this End they put out a Proclamation, for the apprehending all Perſons that ſhould endeavour to make Parties, or raiſe Jealouſies, among the Soldiers, or withdraw them from their Duty, to the Diſturbance of the publick Peace. And whoever ſhould diſcover or apprehend any ſuch Offenders, ſhould have the Reward of ten Pounds for their Pains. But becauſe no Means was thought effectual enough to bind and ſecure the Obedience of an Army that had been ſo long accuſtomed to Miſrule and Violence, it was contrived by the General, and ſome of his more ſecret Council, that all Officers in the ſeveral Armies ſhould preſently ſign an Engagement, declaring their entire Submiſſion to all the Commands of his Excellency the Lord General, and to the Orders of the preſent Council of State, and that they would yield all Obedience to the Reſolutions and Councils of the ſucceeding Parliament. This Engagement was readily ſubſcrib'd by all the Officers of General *Monk*'s Army, and by moſt alſo of the others; and they who refus'd

were

were preſently remov'd from their Commands, which gave the General the fair Opportunity which he had ſo long deſir'd, for introducing ſeveral Perſons of Honour and Quality into Commands in the Army, in the Place of thoſe he could no longer truſt.

VII. HITHERTO all things had been manag'd by the Power and Influence of the Parliamentary Party, whilſt the Royal Intereſt (that were to reap the ſole Advantage of the ſucceeding Change) having entertain'd ſome ſecret Hopes or Confidence in General *Monk*'s Proceedings, contented themſelves to ſit ſtill, without raiſing any farther Jealouſies upon themſelves or him, by making further Applications to him.

VIII. ONLY Sir *John Greenvil*, (his near Kinſman) who had, the laſt Year, been practiſing upon the General's Allegiance in *Scotland*, by ſending his Brother *Monk* thither, of which we have given the Account before, was reſolv'd to make ſome further Attempt upon him, eſpecially now, obſerving him to be in a much better Capacity of anſwering his Ends, than when he had firſt dealt with him in *Scotland*. 1660.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

I, II. *Sir* John, *by the Means of Mr.* Morrice, *though with much Difficulty, gets a Promiſe of a private Conference with the General, who knew Sir* John's *Buſineſs.* III. *Sir* John *is introduced to the General, to whom he opens his Meſſage and Credentials.* IV. *The General's ſeeming Surpriſe, and Sir* John's *great Preſence of Mind and Reſolutian.* V. *The General receives him and his Meſſage with great Kindneſs.* VI. *The Author's Obſervation upon it.* VII. *The General declares himſelf to Sir* John, *in the Preſence of Mr.* Morrice. VIII. *Sir* John *offers the General, from the King, a great Reward, which he refuſes.* IX. *His Caution in not writing yet to the King.* X. *His Inſtructions to Sir* John, *upon his Return to the King.* XI. *Sir* John *arrives at* Bruſſels, *and gives the Account of his ſucceſsful Meſſage to the General.* XII, XIII. *His Majeſty's great Hopes, and Removal to* Breda.

I. TO this purpoſe he made frequent Viſits to the General at St. *James*'s, but in the Croud of ſo many Suitors and Attendants, he could never yet meet with a vacant Oppor-

Opportunity of Conference with him; tho' he had ſeveral Times ſtaid late, hoping the Retirements of others, would have given him an Advantage to ſurprize him alone. The General very well knew his Buſineſs, and the Reaſon of his ſo frequent and late Viſits: But becauſe he thought his own Station not yet ſecure enough to receive his Meſſage; he was reſolv'd ſtill to prevent any Addreſs to him; either ſometimes calling his Secretaries, and reſuming Buſineſs, or elſe riſing from his Chair with a *Good Night*, *Couſin*, *'tis late*, and ſo retiring to his Bed-chamber. But after ſo many Fruſtrations, Sir *John Greenvil*, being impatient till he had perform'd his Majeſty's Commands, was reſolv'd, ſince he could not make his Way to the General by himſelf, he would attempt it by the Mediation of another. And to that purpoſe finds out Mr. *Morrice*, to whom he was very well known, both as being ally'd to him, and alſo a Truſtee for his Eſtate, by the Diſpoſition of his Father, Sir *Bevil Greenvil*'s Will. Him he engag'd to take the firſt Opportunity of informing the General, that he had Buſineſs of great and ſecret Importance to acquaint him with, intreating his Excellency to allow him the Favour of a private Conference. It was not long before Mr. *Morrice* found an Occaſion to communicate all this Diſcourſe to the General, who reply'd: That his Couſin *Green-*

vil

vil was ſo well known in the Town, and ſo noted a Royaliſt, that he could not, with Security or Concealment, admit him to a private Interview in the Head-Quarters, but that, in a Time of ſo much jealous Obſervation, ſome ill Apprehenſions would be raiſed from it. He therefore deſired Mr. *Morrice* to go to Sir *John Greenvil* in his Name, with Aſſurance, that he had given him full Truſt to hear his ſecret Buſineſs, and that by him he ſhould alſo receive the General's Anſwer. Mr. *Morrice* preſently acquainted Sir *John Greenvil*, at his own Houſe in *Covent-Garden*, with this Direction from the General; who utterly refus'd to communicate his Buſineſs to any other Perſon except his Excellency himſelf. But the General was ſo little ſatisfy'd with this Anſwer, that he afterwards ſent Mr. *Morrice* back again, more earneſtly deſiring him that he would truſt him with the Conveyance of this ſecret Affair. But Sir *John* was ſtill reſolv'd to treat only with the General, and though he had ſecurely intruſted Mr. *Morrice* with his Eſtate, yet he could truſt no Man but himſelf in this Buſineſs; aſſuring him, that this Affair related only to the General himſelf, whom it ſo nearly concern'd, that if his Excellency would not grant him the Favour of a private Acceſs, he muſt be forced to acquaint him with it where-ever he next met him. Upon the Return of this Anſwer,

ſwer, the General was exceedingly pleas'd with the Reſolution and Warineſs of his Kinſman. For now he found he was to deal with a Man of Secrecy, which was all he aim'd at. And therefore the next Day Mr. *Morrice* was ſent back to let him know, that the ſame Evening he would give him a Meeting in Mr. *Morrice*'s Chamber at St. *James*'s.

II. IT cannot be imagin'd, but the General very well knew Sir *John Greenvil* could have no other Buſineſs with him of ſo much Secrecy, but what he had before begun in *Scotland*, the King's Reſtauration; nor can it be thought his Excellency would ſo much concern himſelf (in ſending ſo many Meſſages) to be told that which he had no Mind to hear.

III. SIR *John Greenvil* was very careful to attend the Minutes of this Appointment, and accordingly came in the Evening to the Chamber, where he found Mr. *Morrice*; and preſently after the General, by a back Stairs, entered the Room at another Door. So ſoon as they had ſaluted each other, Mr. *Morrice*, knowing it to be an Interview of Secrecy, withdrew to the Door, reſolving to ſecure the Room from any other Interruption upon them. Whereupon Sir *John Greenvil* began to compliment the General for the Favour he had

had done him, in giving him this Opportunity to discharge a Trust, which had long remain'd in his Hands, and was of so great Concernment both to his Excellency, and also to the whole Nation: That hitherto he had been unhappily prevented in his Endeavours from obeying the Commands of the King his Master; and thereupon presented the General with his Majesty's Letter, and also produced his own Commission from the King, by which he was enabled to treat with him in this Business.

IV. The General having receiv'd the Letter and Papers into his Hands, stepp'd back in a kind of Surprizal, and then with some Emotion ask'd him, *How he durst adventure to treat with him in a Matter of this Nature, without considering the Danger of the Attempt?* To which Sir *John* reply'd, *That he had so long been accustomed to daily Hazards of this Kind in pursuing the Commands of the King his Master, that they were grown familiar to him: But now he was the more encouraged, by observing the Methods which his Excellency had taken, and from whence his Majesty had also entertain'd some particular Confidence of his good Affection and Inclination towards his Service.*

V. The

V. THE General could not longer conceal himſelf, but with ſome Paſſion (like that of *Joſeph* to his Brethren) he embraced his Couſin *Greenvil*, giving him Thanks that he had with ſo much Prudence and Secrecy convey'd his Majeſty's Letter to him; which he did more gladly receive from his Hands, being his neareſt Kinſman, and a Deſcendant of the Family to which he owed ſo many Obligations. That he was very well pleas'd in obſerving his Reſolution, not to reveal this Secret to any Man after his Brother; otherwiſe he ſhould not have thought him a Perſon fit to be talked with in Buſineſs of ſo great Concernment.

VI. AND here let it be noted with a Point of a Diamond, that the ſame General *Monk*, who was naturally ſo wary and conſiderate, that he would find Ways to deliberate upon the leaſt ſudden Propoſal made to him, yet entertain'd preſently this great Affair the firſt Minute it was offer'd him. So congenial and agreeable was the Addreſs of Sir *John Greenvil* to his own ſecret Inclinations. And they who have render'd this great and illuſtrious Perſon a kind of Property led on by the Conduct of others, may here meet with their own Conviction. For though no Man knew better than himſelf, how to make uſe of thoſe about

about him; yet in this great Concernment, which was the moſt nice and tendereſt Part of all his Buſineſs, he adviſ'd with none of them all, nor made them privy to it.

VII. The General then read his Majeſty's Letters, and look'd over Sir *John Greenvil*'s Commiſſion, and thereupon further reply'd, *That he was much oblig'd to his Majeſty for this good Opinion he was pleas'd to entertain of him, and for the Aſſurance his Majeſty had given him (by his Letter) of his gracious Pardon. That indeed he had been caſt into the Society of his Majeſty's Enemies, but his Heart was always faithful to him, and he had ſtill kept an Eye upon his Service, whenſoever he ſhould be in a Condition to attempt it; unto which he had now, in ſome good Meaſure, arrived, through manifold Difficulties and Diſappointments; being reſolved to endeavour his Majeſty's Reſtauration with the Hazard of his own Life and Fortunes.* And, that there might be further Witneſſes of theſe Reſolutions, he would call that honeſt Man from the Door. Mr. *Morrice* was accordingly call'd to the reſt of their Conference, and aſſiſted therein.

VIII. Sir *John Greenvil* acquainted the General, that he had Authority from his Majeſty to aſſure him of an hundred thouſand

Pounds *per Ann.* to be annually paid to him and his Officers for ever, with what Title of Honour he ſhould chuſe for himſelf, together with the Offer of Lord High-Conſtable of *England.* All which his Excellency as generouſly refuſed, telling Sir *John Greenvil: There was ſufficient Reward in the Conſcience and Satisfaction of ſerving his Prince, and obliging his Country. That he would not ſell his Duty, nor bargain for his Allegiance; ſo that for any Regards towards him, he was wholly reſolv'd in to the good Pleaſure of his Majeſty.*

IX. SIR *John Greenvil* then moved the General to write ſome Anſwer to his Majeſty's Letter, and to ſend a Meſſenger of his own to attend him; which his Excellency declin'd, telling him, *That he had none about him that as yet he could truſt with ſuch a Secret.* And though Sir *John* mentioned the Names of ſome particular Perſons about him, yet he refuſed, for the preſent, to adventure a Letter to his Majeſty, which, if it ſhould happen by any Accident to be intercepted, would raiſe ſuch Jealouſies and Apprehenſions in the Army, (not yet fully wrought to his Mind) as it ſhould hardly ever be again in his Power to compoſe them. He therefore deſir'd Sir *John Greenvil,* as he had receiv'd from him the Commands of his Majeſty, ſo

he would alſo return his Anſwer; and that ſince he could not ſecurely write, a Meſſenger of his own without Letters would be to little purpoſe; but his Majeſty would believe his own Agent, though he brought no Letter of Credence. Sir *John Greenvil* then told the General, that he would begin his Journey to the King the next Evening, who thereupon appointed to meet him again the following Day in the ſame Place, where he ſhould receive his Inſtructions.

X. THE next Evening Sir *John Greenvil* attended the General in Mr. *Morrice*'s Chamber, where his Excellency deſir'd him to take his Inſtructions in Writing, the Heads whereof were:

"THAT ſince by the long Civil War and "Change of Government, the Minds of the "Soldiers in general, and a great Part of the "People would be alarm'd with the Appre-"henſion of his Majeſty's Return, it was his "humble Advice, that he would be graci-"ouſly pleas'd to proclaim his free and gene-"ral Pardon to all his Subjects, except to "ſuch as the Parliament ſhould eſteem inca-"pable of it. That he would prepare the "Minds of the Army, by declaring his Rea-"dineſs to conſent to ſuch Acts as ſhould ſe-"cure the publick Sales and Diſpoſitions of "Lands, and the Payment alſo of their Ar-

"rears.

" rears. And becauſe nothing was more like-
" ly to run the People into Frenzies, than
" the Fear of Reſtraint in their ſeveral Reli-
" gions, he did further beſeech his Majeſty
" to declare his Aſſent for a Toleration and
" Liberty of Conſcience to all his Subjects,
" who ſhould ſo employ it as not to give any
" Diſturbance to the Civil Government. He
" was alſo inſtructed to deſire his Majeſty to
" retire from the Dominions of the King
" of *Spain* into ſome convenient Place be-
" longing to the States of the united Pro-
" vinces, where, with more Freedom and Se-
" curity to his Perſon, he might treat further
" with his Parliament and People. And laſt-
" ly, he was ſtrictly cautioned not to give
" his Majeſty any Interruption, by offering
" Propoſals to him for the Reward of his
" Service." The General then deſired him to peruſe his Inſtructions carefully, and to fix them throughly in his Memory; and then, receiving the Paper from his Hand, threw it into the Fire before them, and intreated him to keep theſe Particulars in his Thoughts as he travelled, and by no means to commit them again to Writing, till he was firſt arriv'd in *Flanders*, nor to acquaint any Perſon with his Buſineſs except his Majeſty only. They then privately took Leave of each other; and the ſame Night Sir *John Greenvil*, ſpeeding ſecretly through the City, began his

Journey towards *Dover*, where, the next Day, he ſeaſonably found the Lord *Mordaunt*, who was then going over to the King, and had hir'd a Veſſel to himſelf, in which he was very joyful to accommodate his old Acquaintance Sir *John Greenvil*, and engage together in the King's Service; but in all their Voyage to *Oſtend*, they knew nothing of one another's Buſineſs. When they came to *Bruſſels*, the Lord *Mordaunt* reſolv'd to go directly to the Court, and Sir *John Greenvil* to his Lodgings; deſiring his Lordſhip to acquaint the King, that he was come to Town, and where he lodged.

XI. So ſoon as his Majeſty was inform'd of Sir *John Greenvil*'s Arrival, he expected from him ſome extraordinary News from *England*; and the rather, becauſe he came not to Court, but retir'd himſelf ſo privately. The ſame Night therefore his Majeſty went alone in his Coach to his Lodgings, where, being private together, he gave his Majeſty a diſtinct and particular Account of all his Proceedings with General *Monk*; with what Readineſs he had embrac'd his Majeſty's Service, and with what Care and Prudence he had run through a thouſand Difficulties and Diſappointments to arrive at his preſent Station; and by which he hop'd he ſhould be able to accompliſh his Majeſty's Reſtauration.

He

He then deſcended to the Relation of thoſe private Inſtructions he had received from the General; which, when his Majeſty had further conſidered and debated with Sir *John Greenvil*, they found it impoſſible to comply with General *Monk*'s Deſire, in managing this ſecret Affair by themſelves alone, without admitting ſome others to a Share in their Counſels. And therefore his Majeſty reſolv'd that, the next Day, the Marquiſs of *Ormond*, the Lord Chancellor *Hide*, and Sir *Edward Nicholas*, ſhould be acquainted with it; who accordingly attended his Majeſty privately, together with Sir *John Greenvil*, and received this News from General *Monk* with a kind of joyful Aſtoniſhment.

XII. AND now his Majeſty began to entertain ſome nearer Hopes of recovering the Throne of his Anceſtors, than he had done by thoſe former Attempts, which had been made for him in *England* or *Scotland*. For this was a Method that had never yet been try'd, and the Conduct of it was in the Hands of a wary and valiant Man, that wanted not Prudence and Courage to go through with it. Nor did his Majeſty and the honourable Counſellors forget to reflect upon the extraordinary Service of Sir *John Greenvil*, with what Pains and Induſtry, through how many Dangers and Hazards, he had carried

on this ſecret Truſt for almoſt three Quarters of a Year, and had at laſt ſo happily concluded it with the General.

XIII. At this Conference it was reſolv'd to purſue the well-adviſed Counſel from General *Monk*, for the removing of his Majeſty out of the *Spaniſh* Territories. And accordingly ſome few Days after he went privately to *Breda*, where he ſettled his Court; and in this Place were made ready all thoſe Packets and Diſpatches, which Sir *John Greenvil* was to carry back into *England*. A Declaration was alſo formed and ſigned by the King, containing all thoſe very Points which the General had propos'd by his Inſtructions to Sir *John Greenvil*.

CHAP. XXIII.

I. *A Commiſſion drawn up for conſtituting General* Monk *Captain General of all his Majeſty's Forces, with Letters by him to be communicated in* England. II. *Some of the late Parliament are for impoſing very diſhonourable Terms upon the King, in order to his Reſtoration.* III. *They ſend a Letter*

a Letter to the King to that Purpoſe, and repreſent the General as complying with them. IV. *Sir* John Greenvil *returns to* England *with the King's Inſtructions.* V. *What paſſed betweeen the General and him upon his Return.* VI. *The Election for a new Parliament.* VII. *An Inſurrection.* VIII. Lambert *eſcapes, and joins them in* Warwickſhire. IX. *The General reſolves, if Occaſion ſhould be, to publiſh the King's Commiſſion, and declare openly for him.* X, XI. Lambert *is taken Priſoner, and recommitted to the Tower.*

I. BEFORE his Majeſty took any Care about the Diſpoſal of his own Affairs, he was firſt conſidering how to reward the Service of the General, and was adviſing with Sir *John Greenvil* hereupon; who told him, he had already acquainted the General with his Majeſty's Propoſals, according to his former Inſtructions, which the General had wholly refuſed; and that, among his other Inſtructions from the General, there was this particularly inſerted, "that he ſhould move "nothing to the King about any Reward." So that Sir *John Greenvil* did now offer it as his humble Advice to his Majeſty, to intermit, for the preſent, the Care thereof till his own happy Arrival into *England*. Wherefore at preſent his Majeſty only commanded

a Commiſſion to be drawn up for General *Monk*, to command as Captain General over all the Forces of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; which was ſign'd by him, and put up with a private Letter to him from his Majeſty, written with his own Hand. There was alſo another Letter directed: *To our truſty and well-beloved General* Monk, *to be by him communicated to the Preſident of the Council of State, and to the Officers of the Armies under his Command*, with a Copy of the forementioned Declaration encloſed. And becauſe the new and auſpicious Parliament (upon whoſe Councils the Hopes both of the King and People did ſo much depend) were ſuddenly to meet, Letters were drawn up to be delivered at their Aſſembly by Sir *John Greenvil*, directed by the King: *To our truſty and right well-beloved the Speaker of the Houſe of Lords:* And another, *To our truſty and well-beloved the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons*; In both which were alſo Copies of his Majeſty's forementioned Declaration inclos'd. There was alſo a Letter directed: *To our truſty and well-beloved the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of our City of* London; In the contents whereof the Lord *Mordaunt*, who was alſo to return with Sir *John Greenvil*, was mentioned. And another to General *Monk*, and General *Mountague*, to be by them communicated to the Fleet.

II. But

II. BUT whilſt theſe Letters are making ready at *Breda*, we will return a while into *England*, where all Parties were exceeding buſy in the Purſuit of their particular Intereſts, upon the Proſpect of this great Revolution, which ſome of them hop'd for, and others equally fear'd. So that General *Monk* was perpetually beſet with many and different Addreſſes from thoſe who were curious to diſcover his Senſe and Inclination, or to propoſe their own. But, among the reſt, there was a moſt miſchievous and villainous Application made to him by ſome Members of the late Parliament; who perſuaded him, that if the next Seſſion ſhould reſolve upon reſtoring the ancient Government, and bring home the King; yet his Return ſhould not be ſafely admitted, but upon the ſame Articles which, twelve Years before, had been offer'd to his Father in his laſt and greateſt Extremity in the Iſle of *Wight*, and would have made him no better than *Magni Nominis Umbra*. By which Conceſſions the Militia of the Kingdom, with the Diſpoſal of all Places of Truſt, and all Officers, muſt have continu'd in the Hands of the Parliament; and the Presbyterian Government be eſtabliſh'd at leaſt for three Years, with the fair Probabilities of a longer Leaſe; and his moſt faithful Servants be dealt with as Delinquents.

quents. So that, upon theſe Terms, the Parliament would not have been leſs Maſters than before, nor his Majeſty a much greater Prince than in his preſent Exile.

III. The General having before ſent away Sir *John Greenvil* privately to his Majeſty with Aſſurance of his Allegiance, and Reſolutions for his Service, without the mention of any Limitation, was ſomewhat concern'd how to make good Work with theſe Gentlemen. Nor were they ordinary People, but ſome of them Perſons of Quality, and all of them Men of Parts and Eminency among the Parties where they ſway'd. So that the General thought it moſt ſafe at preſent to entertain them with ſome Appearance of his Conſent; and having (as they thought) thus faſten'd the Trick upon him, their next Contrivance was to perfect this Juggle with the King. To that purpoſe a Letter was ſent to him, relating their *earneſt Deſires and Endeavours for his Return; and that to that End they had held ſeveral Treaties with General* Monk, *who could not be prevail'd with to conſent to his Reſtauration, otherwiſe than upon his Father's Conceſſions in the Iſle of* Wight; *beſeeching his Majeſty to accept thereof, rather than, by his further Refuſal, to hazard a total Excluſion from his Crown and Kingdom.* This Letter was deliver'd

ſiver'd to his Majeſty, whilſt Sir *John Greenvil* was attending upon him, to whom it was alſo ſhewn. But, upon farther deliberating among themſelves, the Artifice was quickly diſcover'd; ſo that his Majeſty pleaſantly reply'd: *I perceive theſe People do not know that I and General* Monk *ſtand upon much better Terms, which he has ſo generouſly propoſed to me, and Sir* John Greenvil *has ſo induſtriouſly tranſacted, and faithfully rendered me the Account of.* And theſe Perſons when they came afterwards to find, that the General had, by Sir *John Greenvil*, enter'd into ſecret Correſpondencies with the King, tho' they had the Diſcretion to conceal their Diſcontent, yet were ever afterwards ſecret and implacable Enemies to him.

IV. By this Time all the Letters and Inſtructions were made ready, and deliver'd by the King to Sir *John Greenvil*, together with his Privy-Seal and Signet, to be intruſted with General *Monk*; by which he was authorized to chuſe a Secretary of State for his Majeſty's Service. And after four Days Stay at Court he took Leave of his Majeſty, and return'd for *England*.

V. At his Arrival he privately attended the General at St. *James*'s, and deliver'd to him his Majeſty's Letter written with his own

Hand, together with his Commiſſion of General over all the Armies of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. The General perus'd the Letter, and kept it with him; but, for the preſent, he would not truſt his own Cabinet with the Commiſſion; which was therefore deliver'd back to Sir *John Greenvil*, who ſecur'd it in a private Place in the Floor of his Bed-chamber, where he had us'd to lay up Letters and Commiſſions from the King; where alſo this lay till after the King's Return, and was then deliver'd to the General. And for thoſe other Letters, it was here reſolv'd, that Sir *John Greenvil* ſhould keep them privately till the opening of the Parliament, and then deliver them according to his Inſtructions. The General alſo here deliberated with Sir *John Greenvil*, about the Diſpoſal of his Majeſty's Seal and Signet; where it was agreed, that, in Regard Mr. *Morrice* was the only Perſon that had been privy to this ſecret Affair, and had ſo faithfully aſſiſted therein, they would recommend him to the Truſt: Which, ſo ſoon as the King returned, was accordingly done by the General, when, at the ſame Time, his Excellency was offer'd ten thouſand Pounds to procure the Place for another. And now, for the preſent, all Interviews between the General and Sir *John Greenvil* were but ſeldom, and always private.

VI. ALL

VI. ALL this while the People were every where very buſy in chuſing the Members for the approaching Parliament; but with ſo little Regard to thoſe Qualifications appointed by the former Aſſembly, that no Man ever took Notice of them. The Presbyterians were very induſtrious for the introducing again Men of their own Party; but were ſucceſsfully prevented by the Royal Intereſt, which at this Time began to appear, yet with great Moderation and Temper. And the People (from the Memory of their paſt Miſeries) were generally ſo averſe to that Sort of Men, that few of them found their Way into this approaching Parliament.

VII. WHOSE Seſſion was now ſo near, that General *Monk* (having already ſo ſucceſsfully enter'd into a Treaty with his Majeſty) began to entertain himſelf with the Approach of his own and the Kingdom's Safety: Till, on a ſudden, he was ſurpriz'd with the worſt and laſt of his Encumbrances, being the expiring and foul Effect of the fanatick Rage. For the deſperate Crew of Murtherers, and other miſchievous Male-contents, having of late turn'd every Stone in vain; and finding they could not continue the Tyranny of the Rump-Parliament, nor compliment the General to ſet up for himſelf, nor raiſe thoſe Jealouſies

louſies in the Army to any Height, as they had frequently attempted, were now reſolv'd with a Puſh to venture at all, by breaking forth into a new Rebellion; for which they would quickly have found another Name, if it had ſucceeded.

VIII. But, to bring this about, it was reſolv'd to contrive Major General *Lambert*'s Eſcape out of the Tower; which was quickly after effected, by the Treachery of two or three common Soldiers in Colonel *Marley*'s Guards. So ſoon as he was eſcaped, the General had ſpeedy Notice of it, and where he was lodged, ſo that he miſs'd him very narrowly. And tho' the Search after him was carefully continued, yet he heard no more of him, till Colonel *Streater* (who, upon the Diſtribution of *Fleetwood*'s Army, was quartered with his Foot Regiments at *Northampton*) gave the General the firſt Account of him. For *Lambert*, finding that the General had ſo ſettled the Militia of the City, as no good was to be done among them, quickly left the Town, and haſten'd towards *Warwickſhire*: having firſt agreed with his Confederates to meet at a Rendezvous there, whither he hop'd the Regiments of the *Engliſh* Army, quartering in thoſe Countries, would quickly repair to him. Upon this News, the General preſently diſpatch'd away Colonel *Ingoldsby*, with his

his Regiment of Horſe quartering in *Suffolk*, to haſten through *Cambridge* to *Northampton*, and there join with Colonel *Streater*, and purſue *Lambert* where-ever he could be heard of; and more Forces were ſent after, commanded by Colonel *Howard*, to prevent the Motions of any other Forces, quartered in thoſe Countries, from joining with *Lambert*.

IX. AT the ſame Time his Excellency ſent alſo for Sir *John Greenvil*; and, upon private Conference with him, told him, *it was not certain what might be the Iſſue of this Inſurrection, if* Lambert *was not preſently reduced, and the Army ſhould revolt from him: But that he would publiſh his Commiſſion from the King, and by it would raiſe all the Royal Party of the three Nations into Arms, rather than ſuffer theſe furious and hair-brain'd Sectaries to domineer within the Kingdom; deſiring him to be always in Readineſs for receiving further Orders from him, which ſhould be communicated by him to ſuch Perſons about the Town, as he knew were moſt faſt and devoted to his Majeſty's Service.*

X. COLONEL *Ingoldsby* had, in four Days time, got his Regiment together, and arriv'd at *Northampton* by *Saturday* Night, where he

he found a good Troop of Gentlemen, and others, whom the Earl of *Exeter* had brought in to the Aſſiſtance of Colonel *Streater*.

XI. On the next Morning early, being *Eaſter-Day*, the Scouts brought in News where *Lambert* was; and accordingly the Forces were drawn out to follow him, and found him near *Daventry*, having drawn out his Men in an open plow'd Field. The Force with him was but ſmall, being only ſeven broken Troops and a Foot Company. Colonel *Okey* alſo, finding the Buſineſs would not be done by ſpeaking at St. *James*'s; and *Cobbet*, whom we left laſt in *Edenburgh* Caſtle, had found their Way thither, together with Colonel *Axtel*, and ſome few Captains. Theſe Forces having fac'd each other for four Hours ſeem'd not greatly inclin'd to a Combat, having ſpent moſt of the Time in Meſſages and Parleys, till Colonel *Ingoldsby* advanced, and commanded to fire upon them. Whereupon *Lambert*'s Party were ſo irreſolute and unwilling to endure the Charge, as ſome of them came over to *Ingoldsby*, and the reſt fled, and the Commanders began preſently to ſhift away for themſelves. But Colonel *Ingoldsby* had his Eye ſtill upon *Lambert*, and came up ſo cloſely, that he took him Priſoner; nor would he be prevail'd with to connive at his Eſcape, tho' others of them offer'd themſelves

Priſoners in his ſtead. *Cobbet* alſo and *Creed* were here taken with better Luck than *Axtel* and *Okey*, who eſcaped; but not long after were brought to another Reckoning. *Lambert*, *Cobbet*, and *Creed* were preſently carry'd off with a Guard; and on *Eaſter Tueſday* were brought to *London*, and ſecured again in the Tower. And thus was this little Cloud ſeaſonably diſpers'd, which otherwiſe might have brought upon the Nation the Tempeſt of another Civil War.

CHAP. XXIV.

I. *The Grounds of the General's Fear of this new Inſurrection.* II. *Before the Suppreſſion of which he wrote to the King, in Anſwer to one from his Majeſty.* III. *The too great Forwardneſs of the General's Officers to reſtore the King.* IV. *Which he diſcourages.* V. *The ſecret and vile Practices of the old rebellious Party, in order to fruſtrate the General's Deſigns.* VI. *The new Parliament meets, and thanks the General for his Care and Conduct.* VII. *Remarks of the Author upon the General's Proceedings.* VIII. *The*

King's Letter to the Council of State deliver'd to the Parliament by Sir John Greenvil. IX. *A Motion for the Commitment of Sir* John, *which the General prevents, by anſwering for his Appearance.*

I. THE General was very joyful at the ſpeedy and ſeaſonable Suppreſſion of *Lambert* and his Party, ſuſpecting the *Engliſh* Army would preſently have fallen off to him. For though he had always a very ordinary Opinion of *Lambert's* Conduct, yet he knew ſeveral of the Officers with him, eſpecially *Okey* and *Cobbet*, were bold and daring Men, and would adventure to the utmoſt. But though there wanted not ſeditious and urgent Spirits among them, yet the *Engliſh* Forces did not ſeem over-forward at preſent to join in this new Attempt. They had lately bit on the Bridle by following the Paſſions of their Officers, and were now well and warm in their Quarters, whither the Parliament had lately ſent them their Pay; and the Government, during their Obedience, had taken Care for their Support. Thoſe Regiments alſo which *Lambert* had the laſt Year wheadled into the North, had no Stomach to dance after his Pipe into ſuch another Miſadventure, wherein they were to encounter the ſame Army, and the ſame General, that had

had baffled them before. Nor was the General leſs fortunate in the Choice of Colonel *Ingoldsby* for this Service; who, beſides his Faithfulneſs to the General, was exceedingly belov'd by a great Part of the Enemy's Army, who would not be readily drawn to engage againſt him; and had alſo Courage and Reſolution equal to the beſt of them.

II. We have before given Account of his Majeſty's Letter to the General, which was brought to him by Sir *John Greenvil*, to which the General was ſo concern'd to return his Anſwer, with further Aſſurance of his Duty and Faithfulneſs to his Majeſty's Service, that he would not defer it till the Concluſion of *Lambert*'s Inſurrection; but, before ever he knew what would be the Effect of this Man's Miſchief, or whether he might be able to make good his Word, he reſolv'd to write back to his Majeſty; and becauſe Sir *John Greenvil*, who was to be ready at the opening of the Parliament now at Hand, could not be ſpar'd from that Attendance, that this ſecret Truſt might ſtill be continued in the Family, the General ſent his Letter by Mr. *Bernard Greenvil*, a younger Brother to Sir *John*.

III. AND now *Lambert* being again laid faſt in the Tower, and his Party wholly de-

feated, to the utter Ruin and Fruſtration of that Intereſt, the General had no more to do, but to diſcharge a great Part of his Care into the Boſom of the approaching Parliament, which now, within very few Days, was to ſit down. But, before their Meeting, he was interrupted with an importunate and unſeaſonable Addreſs from ſome of his own Officers, who, obſerving how all things concenter'd towards the King's Reſtauration, were very earneſt with his Excellency to anticipate the Counſels of the Parliament, and aſſume the Glory and Advantage of the Action to himſelf and his Army, whereby they might fairly now oblige his Majeſty, and mend their own Fortunes. They undertook alſo to engage the reſt of the Officers, and the whole Army, to a Concurrence in the Deſign.

IV. BUT the General, who had otherwiſe reſolv'd and lik'd his own Methods as moſt ſafe and honourable, calmly declin'd the Propoſal; telling them, *They had before declared their Reſolution to keep the Military Power in Obedience to the Civil; and that lately they had engaged themſelves, by their Subſcriptions, to ſubmit to the Reſolutions of this approaching Parliament, both which Obligations would be treacherouſly fruſtrated by ſuch an Attempt.*

V. AND

V. AND now no open Force durſt any ways appear againſt the General's Proceedings. But, where the deſperate and ſeditious were prevented in their publick Confederacies againſt him and his Party, they were contriving, by ſecret Miſchiefs, to ſcatter Jealouſies and Suſpicions among the Soldiers. And, to that End, ſeveral villanous Libels againſt the King and the Royal Party were diſperſed at Night among the Guards, and other Practices ſet on Foot to raiſe Miſunderſtandings between the General and thoſe he moſt truſted, as alſo among themſelves. To abate the Zeal and Induſtry of Commiſſary *Clarges*, it was repreſented, that Mr. *Morrice* had got the ſtart of him in the General's Opinion and Confidence, and that all things were govern'd by his Counſels; ſo that if the King were reſtored, Mr. *Morrice* would triumph alone in the Glory of the Action. And, to ruin Mr. *Morrice*, it was whiſper'd, that he had complained of the General's tenacious adhering to the Government of a Commonwealth, in Oppoſition to the King, and with what Difficulty he had wrought him to a Conſent to his Reſtauration. But the known Artifices and Falſhoods of thoſe People, prevented the Evil Effect of their Deſigns. Yet theſe rebellious and ſeditious Perſons, though they had ſo often fail'd in their Chymiſtry, would not give

over the Experiment. For, with the like Artifices, they were practiſing upon their elder Brethren the Presbyterians; expoſtulating their vain Credulity, and Over-forwardneſs for reſtoring the King, which muſt needs conclude in their own Slavery. As for them, though they had no Dominion over other Mens Conſciences, yet they had the free Poſſeſſion of their own: But with the King's Return, Prelacy, their old Adverſary, would return alſo, together with its Acceſſaries and inſufferable Attendants, Arminianiſm and Popery, with ſuch other injurious and ſtale Pretences as, twenty Years before, had uſher'd in the Rebellion. And now they began to diſcharge all their Satire and ill Reflections upon the General alſo; accuſing him for prevaricating with them, and that they had been deluded by him; who had never promis'd them any thing, otherwiſe than in Compliance with the Reſolutions of a free Parliament. But they were the People that had cheated all the World that had the Folly or Misfortune to truſt them. They had taken up Arms for the late King's Defence, and yet murthered him: They own'd themſelves Servants to the Parliament, and yet utterly deſtroy'd one Houſe, diſmember'd the other, and at laſt diſſolv'd it; juſtifying all their Villanies by Enthuſiaſm, and their Treachery by Neceſſity and Providence.

VI. BUT now the 25th of *April* being come, *April* 25. the Houſes of Lords and of Commons were aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, who, though they were not called by the Royal Authority, yet the great and memorable Actions done by them, in reſtoring his Majeſty, and ſettling the Nation, will ever entitle them to the honourable Appellation of a *Parliament*. For the Houſe of Lords the Earl of *Mancheſter* was choſen Speaker, and for the Houſe of Commons Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*. Into their Aſſembly the General was elected by a double Return, both from the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and the County of *Devon*; but, having civilly acknowledg'd the Reſpects of the former, he choſe to ſerve for his native Country of *Devonſhire*. In the Beginning of their Counſels the Houſe was pleas'd to give to the General their publick Acknowledgments of his Prudence and faithful Service, in preſerving the Peace of the Commonwealth, and ſo effectually oppoſing the Enemies thereof, whereby they had now the Privilege of aſſembling together in Parliament with Liberty and Freedom.

VII. AND here we will make a ſeaſonable Stand, and a while reſt the wearied Reader under the ſhady Contemplation of ſome par-

ticular Remarks upon the General's Proceedings.

He had now paſſed from one Tropick to another, by ſo gradual and eaſy Steps, that the Alteration he made, ſtole upon the People as inſenſibly as the lengthening of the Days, and Changes of the Year and Seaſons. He embraced a moſt plauſible Pretence of oppoſing the endleſs Extravagancies of the *Engliſh* Army, by declaring for the Rump Parliament; and then corrected the Furies of that Junto, by the Mixture of the ſecluded Members. By their own Hands he buried that fatal Parliament, never to riſe more, which otherwiſe pretended to an immortal Power, like the Crowns of Princes, who never dye. From their own Aſhes he produced this preſent and better Seſſion; ſo that he had now ſilently ſhifted three Scenes, to make way to his laſt Act.

By the like Gradations he proceeded in regulating his Armies. When he firſt began his Deſign in *Scotland*, he cleared his Hands from all his Anabaptiſts, by the Miniſtration of the Independents. At his Arrival into *London*, he attemper'd his Independents by introducing the Presbyterians: And now, at laſt, had let in the Royal Party, which he could only truſt, to the Excluſion of both. So that all good Men were as much delighted with the Order of theſe Proceedings, as with the Variety.

VIII. But

VIII. BUT the Parliament being met, it was now agreed by the General and Sir *John Greenvil*, that thoſe Letters which he had brought over from his Majeſty, ſhould be deliver'd according to the ſeveral Inſtructions. And becauſe it was not yet ſeaſonable, that thoſe ſecret Cabals and Conferences between the General and Sir *John Greenvil*, ſhould be publickly known, it was reſolv'd, that the Letter directed *to the General, and by him to be communicated to the Council of State, and Officers of the Army*, ſhould be openly deliver'd to him at the Council Chamber in *White-Hall*. Accordingly next Day Sir *John Greenvil* ſtood ready at the Door, intending, by the next Member that went in, to let the General know he was there. And Colonel *Birch* happen'd to be the Man who receiv'd Sir *John*'s Meſſage; and, upon Intimation to the General, his Excellency came to the Door; where Sir *John Greenvil* told him, he had Letters to him from the King, which he deliver'd into his Hand in Sight of the Guards; and the Buſineſs was ſo contriv'd, that the General receiv'd him as a Stranger whom he had never ſeen before, and with ſome Surprizal at his Buſineſs. He then deſir'd him to ſtay there till he receiv'd his Anſwer, and commanded his Guards to look after him. The General then carried the Let-

ter to the Council, opening the Seal, and delivering it to the Preſident: And the Superſcription being read, the Style of it made them all know whence the Letter came.

IX. The Council being ſurpriz'd with the Receipt of theſe Letters, fell into an earneſt Debate about them; ſo that Colonel *Birch* (though there was no Fear that this Buſineſs would hurt his Reputation) endeavour'd to clear himſelf by his Proteſtation, *That he neither knew the Gentleman that deliver'd the Meſſage to him, nor any thing of his Buſineſs.* And without doubt he was believed by thoſe that heard him. It was then reſolved, that the Letter ſhould not be open'd till the Parliament met again, which was then adjourn'd for three Days; and Sir *John Greenvil* was then call'd in, where the Preſident examin'd him ſtrictly about the Letter, and how he came by it. To which Sir *John* reply'd: *That the King his Maſter deliver'd it to him at* Breda *with his own Hand.* It was then debated to ſend him into Cuſtody, till the Parliament ſhould determine therein; but General *Monk* then told the Preſident, *That though he had not ſeen Sir* John Greenvil *for many Years, yet he was his near Kinſman, ſo that he would undertake for his Appearance before the Houſe*; and thereupon he was diſmiſs'd by the Council.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

I. *At the Meeting of the Parliament Sir* John Greenvil *attends both Houſes with the King's Letters: Their Reſolution thereupon.* II. *The King's Letters communicated to the Army by the General.* III. *The Reception of them.* IV. *The Houſe of Commons paſs a Vote for preſenting the King, and Dukes of* York *and* Glouceſter, *with ſixty five thouſand Pounds; and five hundred to Sir* John Greenvil. V. *An honorary Grant from the King to Sir* John Greenvil. VI. *The Parliament ſend Sir* John *to the King with their Anſwer to his Letters.* VII. *General* Mountague *directed to carry the Fleet to the* Dutch *Coaſts.* VIII. *Sir* John Greenvil's *Arrival at* Breda. IX. *An Addreſs from the Army to the General.* X. *Which is carried to the King.* XI. *The King proclaimed by a Vote of both Houſes:* XII. *Attended at the* Hague *by Commiſſioners from them.* XIII. *Sir* Thomas Clarges *returns from the King.* XIV, XV. *General* Mountague's *Arrival at the* Hague *with the whole Fleet.*

I. ON the Day the Houſe met again, *May* 1. was Sir *John Greenvil* accordingly ready; and meeting in the Lobby, the Lord Commiſ- *May* 1.

Commiſſioner *Tyrrel*, then entering the Houſe with whom he was acquainted; he entreated him to inform the Speaker, that he attended at the Door with Letters to the Houſe from his Majeſty. When the Lord Commiſſioner came in, he found the Preſident of the Council of State giving the Houſe an Account of Letters from the King; which ſo ſoon as he had ended, Commiſſioner *Tyrrel* acquainted the Speaker with Sir *John Greenvil*'s Meſſage. But whilſt the Commons were debating of this Letter, Sir *John* was retir'd from the Door, and haſten'd to the Houſe of Lords, where he firſt enquir'd for his Grace the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Earl of *Oxford*. And being inform'd, that the Duke was not yet come, but that the Earl of *Oxford* was then ſitting; he ſent in a Meſſage to him, upon which his Lordſhip came forth; and Sir *John Greenvil* inform'd him, that he had Letters from the King, which he was commanded to deliver to the Speaker of the Lord's Houſe, intreating his Lordſhip to acquaint the Earl of *Mancheſter* therewith. This Relation was very welcome to the Earl of *Oxford*, who, beſides his Deſcent from a Family of old and uninterrupted Loyalty, had, for ſeveral Years, faithfully aſſiſted in thoſe ſecret Counſels for the King's Reſtauration. He preſently acquainted the Speaker with the Arrival of his Majeſty's Letters. There-

Thereupon it was firſt debated in what manner they would receive them; and accordingly the Lords voted, *to attend their Speaker to the Door of the Houſe*, where Sir *John Greenvil* met them, and deliver'd his Majeſty's Letter; and, having receiv'd the Thanks of the Lord's Houſe, he haſten'd preſently back again to the Houſe of Commons, where his Majeſty's Letters were equally welcome, tho' they receiv'd them with leſs Ceremony, not being ſo well acquainted as their Lordſhips, in the Uſage of Kings. Sir *John* was then called in, and deliver'd his Majeſty's Letter to the Speaker. And upon the Peruſal of theſe Letters, the Lords voted, *That, according to the ancient and fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, the Government is, and ought to be, by King, Lords, and Commons.* And after his Majeſty's Letter and Declaration incloſ'd had been read by the Commons, the like Vote was paſſed in that Houſe alſo.

II. THE General then deſired Leave of the Houſe to communicate his Majeſty's Letter, which had been deliver'd at the Council of State, to the Officers alſo of his Army, which was accordingly there read. About the ſame time the Lord Mayor and Aldermen receiv'd the King's Letter from the Lord *Mordaunt* and Sir *John Greenvil*; and afterwards Sir *John Greenvil* deliver'd alſo his Majeſty's

Majesty's Letter to General *Mountague* and the Fleet.

III. THE Lords and Commons then voted, *That they would return Answer to his Majesty's Letters by Messengers from their several Houses.* And the Lord Mayor and Common Council appointed twenty of their principal Citizens to return their Answer to his Majesty's Letter, with their Present to the King, and the Dukes of *York* and *Glouceſter*. But General *Mountague* and the Fleet being resolv'd to carry their own Message themselves to his Majesty, sent no Messenger.

IV. AND because his Majesty had been so long dispossess'd, not only of his Kingdoms, but Revenues, the House of Common's pass'd a Vote for the presenting him with fifty thousand Pounds, and ten thousand Pounds to the Duke of *York*, and five thousand Pounds to the Duke of *Glouceſter*; which Sums (because of the present Dispatch) were to be instantly borrowed of the City of *London*, till the Money could be afterwards raised at Leisure from the rest of the Kingdom. And, that it might appear how joyfully they received his Majesty's Letter, they voted five hundred Pounds to Sir *John Greenvil* for bringing the Letter, to buy him a Jewel, which he was desir'd to wear as a Memorial of the Thanks

and

and Reſpects of the Houſe to him. And accordingly the ſaid Sum was brought to his Lodgings the next Day.

V. AND having mention'd the Gratitude of the Houſe of Commons to this Gentleman, we will here ſeaſonably alſo take notice of the Eſtimation and Value, which his Majeſty ſet upon his Service, as appears from his Majeſty's Royal Grant or Warrant to him, which we have tranſcribed from the Original, and have added in the Collection at the End of this Hiſtory.

VI. THE Parliament then proceeded to the Nomination of ſuch Perſons from their ſeveral Houſes, as ſhould attend upon his Majeſty with their Anſwer to his Letters, and ordered alſo the Inſtruſtions to be drawn up for them; and that General *Mountague* with the Fleet ſhould be in Readineſs to attend them. But becauſe theſe Proceedings of the Parliament would take up Time, and the General was altogether uneaſy, till his Majeſty was actually return'd, he reſolv'd to ſend Sir *John Greenvil* again to him, to acquaint his Majeſty with the Reception of his Letters; and that he would be pleas'd to expedite his Return into *England*. He alſo further conſider'd, that, in regard his Journey into *England* could not be decently ſet in Order,

Order, till the Money were remitted thither; The General ſo far prevail'd with the Lord Mayor and Citizens, that the fifty thouſand Pounds voted by the Houſe of Commons for a Preſent to his Majeſty, was inſtantly raiſed, to be conveyed to him by Sir *John Greenvil*, whereof ten thouſand Pounds in Gold he carry'd with him in Coaches to *Dover*, accompanied with a Convoy of Horſe; for the reſt he had Bills of Exchange, which were afterwards paid at *Amſterdam* upon Sight. With Sir *John Greenvil* went over to his Majeſty the Lord *Lauderdale*, being releaſed from his Impriſonment in *Windſor* Caſtle, where he had been confin'd ever ſince the Battle at *Worceſter*, together with divers others.

VII. When his Excellency diſmiſs'd Sir *John Greenvil*, he directed him to acquaint General *Mountague* with his Deſire; that, for the more ſpeedy Expedition of his Majeſty's Return, he would forthwith carry the Fleet to the *Dutch* Coaſts. Accordingly General *Mountague*, having firſt accommodated Sir *John Greenvil*, for the quicker Diſpatch, with the *Mary* Frigat (then called the Speaker) and left a good Convoy in the *Downs* to bring over the Commiſſioners, order'd the reſt of the Fleet to put under Sail for the Shore of *Holland*.

VIII. The

VIII. THE next Day Sir *John Greenvil* landed at *Flushing*, and then attended the King at *Breda*; where he acquainted him with the welcome Entertainment of his Majesty's several Letters, and that all things did concur in *England* to hasten his Restauration; to which End he had brought over fifty thousand Pounds from the House of Commons for his Majesty's present Occasions. And Resolutions began now to be taken in order to his Removal.

IX. THE General had before communicated his Majesty's Letters and Declaration to the Officers of his Army who were near him; by whom they were so joyfully receiv'd, that they presented a publick Address to the General, to testify their Duty and Allegiance to his Majesty. The Copies of which Letters and Declaration, together with the Copies of the Address, were dispatch'd away to all the remote Garrisons and Regiments; where they were entertain'd with the like Readiness and Submission. The General had, by his former Methods, so effectually regulated his Army, that there was no Report made of any one Officer that refused to sign the Address.

X. THIS Address from the Army, toge- *May 5.*

ther with the General's Letter, was ſent to his Majeſty by Commiſſary *Clarges*; and gave a further Aſſurance of the Army's Obedience and Submiſſion. His Majeſty had before receiv'd an Account of this Gentleman, and of the Service he had render'd him, by his conſtant and faithful Correſpondence with General *Monk*, in order to his Reſtauration. So that he entertain'd him with a particular Kindneſs, and preſently knighted him, being the firſt Perſon who receiv'd (and deſervedly) any Title or Mark of Honour from his Majeſty upon this Service.

May 8. XI. UPON the ſame Day (*May* 8.) on which Sir *Thomas Clarges* preſented to the King the Army's Addreſs at *Breda*, his Majeſty was, by a Vote of both Houſes, proclaim'd at *London* with all the uſual Ceremonies, but with an Affection that certainly was never ſo manifeſted towards any of his Predeceſſors. In this Solemnity the General joyfully aſſiſted, following in his Coach the Coaches of both the Speakers. And ſuch was the publick Feſtivity of this Day, that it ſeem'd as the Shadow of the King's Approach, or like the firſt Light of the Morning that looks over the Mountain's Tops, and uſhers in the Sun.

XII. BY This time the Parliament had perfected

fected their Inſtructions for their Commiſſioners from both Houſes that were to attend his Majeſty at the *Hague*, whither he had remov'd from *Breda*, in order to the receiving them there. And the *Engliſh* Fleet was already arriv'd near him in the Bay of *Scheveling*, where they lay at Anchor, in Readineſs to receive his Commands. On the 16th of *May* the Commiſſioners attended his Majeſty at the *Hague*; and, according to their Inſtructions, they acquainted him: *That, before their ſetting forth, the Parliament had already proclaimed him in his City of* London, *which was already done in all the reſt of his Dominions. That, for the Succeſs of his Arrival and future Happineſs, they had order'd the Prayers*, for the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, *to be reſtored in the publick Office of the Church; and had prepar'd the Way for his Arrival, by erecting the Royal Arms in the Place of thoſe ſet up by the late uſurping Commonwealth. They were alſo further to ſupplicate his Majeſty to haſten his Return; and that the Houſes might receive timely Notice in what manner he would pleaſe to be received.* May 16.

XIII. THE ſame Day the Commiſſioners arrived at the *Hague*, his Majeſty, in the Evening, diſpatch'd Sir *Thomas Clarges* back

for *England* to the General, with News of his intending to land at *Dover*.

XIV. By the Arrival of the honourable Commiſſioners, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality, that haſten'd to proffer their early Duty at the *Hague*, the King began even in a foreign Country to have the Splendor of a Court, and appear'd like the Monarch of *Great Britain* in the morning Rays of Royal Majeſty. The Preſence of theſe Commiſſioners was very welcome to him; but when he came to view his Fleet, the Proſpect was like that of *Joſeph's* Waggons to his Father *Jacob*; both whereof were ſent on the ſame Errand, and had the ſame Aſſurance.

XV. But in the midſt of this Feſtivity ſome of the Commiſſioners could not conceal their Reſentments; being diſpleas'd that General *Mountague* had left them only a Convoy, and that they had not the whole Fleet to attend them in their Voyage. But, to pacify this Diſpleaſure, an antedated Order was ſecretly procured under his Majeſty's Hand, to authoriſe General *Mountague's* Arrival.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

I. *The King lands at* Dover, *and is received by the General.* II. *At* Canterbury *the General is made Knight of the Garter.* III. *The King is received by the Army drawn up at* Black-Heath. IV. *His Entrance into* London. V. *The Magnificence of it.* VI. *He is congratulated at* White-Hall *by both Houſes.* VII. *The Places and Honours conferred on the General:* VIII. *And Sir* John Greenvil. IX. *The General made a Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and afterwards Lord Treaſurer.* X. *He is created Duke of* Albemarle, *and has ſeven thouſand Pounds* per Annum *ſettled upon him and his Heirs. His great Temper and Humility ſhewn in the upper Houſe. He promotes the Act of Oblivion.* XI. *His Moderation in general.* XII. *A ſpecial Inſtance of it, in his Conſent to the disbanding the Army.* XIII. *An Inſtance of his exact Diſcipline, in the Readineſs of the Soldiers to be disbanded.* XIV. *The King adviſes with him about the Government of* Scotland: *The happy Effects of his late adminiſtration there.* XV. *His publick Cares and Service: A juſt Reflection of Sir* Edward Nicholas *upon them.*

I. AND now all things being in Readineſs for the King's Removal, he went on
May 23. Board his Fleet, *May* 23. where he firſt took Poſſeſſion of his Dominion at Sea, and then arrived at *Dover*; where the General was ready to receive him on the Shore. At his landing, and after the Sight of his Majeſty, many there preſent had a particular Curioſity to obſerve their Interview; which was perform'd by the King with extraordinary Kindneſs and Affection; and on the General's Part, with that Duty and Proſtration, as if he had come this Day rather to ask his Majeſty's Pardon, than to receive his Thanks.

II. FROM hence he attended his Majeſty to *Canterbury*, where he receiv'd the firſt honourable Mark of his Favour, being there made Knight of the Garter, which was the Foundation of thoſe further Dignities which were to be conferred upon him. And the moſt illuſtrious Dukes of *York* and *Glouceſter* put upon him, with their own Hands, the Enſigns of his Order.

III. IN all the Way of the King's Progreſs towards *London*, the General had much Freedom of Diſcourſe with his Majeſty, and was admitted to all his private Hours. At *Black-Heath* he led his Majeſty to view that Part of the Army, which was then drawn up to offer

offer their Addreſs and Service to him: An Army of ſuch clear Courage and exact Diſcipline, that, being united into one Body under ſuch a General, it would have ſhaken any Crown in Chriſtendom, not accepting his who is now thought ſo much ſuperior to his Neighbours.

IV. FROM hence his Majeſty begun his triumphant Entrance into *London* on the Anniverſary of his Nativity; on which Day, thirty Years before, he was born in this his native City of *Weſtminſter*. In this glorious and magnificent Proceſſion, the General rode next before his Majeſty. The reſt of its State and Order is ſo ſufficiently known and deſcrib'd, that we will not tire our Reader with the particular Recital. *May* 29.

V. IN the Splendor and Acclamations of this Day's Triumph, his Majeſty exceeded all his Royal Anceſtors. For neither the Reception of *Richard* the Iſt from the *Holy Land*, and his Captivity in *Germany*; nor of *Henry* the Vth from the Conqueſt of *France*, nor of *Henry* the VIIth to his Coronation from the Battle of *Boſworth*, had any thing comparable with this Day's Magnificence: In which his Majeſty alſo greatly out-ſhin'd his Grandfather King *James*, when he came to *London*

to unite the Crown of *England* with his own native Diadem.

VI. AFTER the Glories and Feſtivities of this Day, the General having ſeen his Majeſty ſafely lodged in his Palace at *White-Hall*, and congratulated there by both his Houſes of Parliament, retir'd to his Apartment at the *Cockpit*, whither he was now remov'd, to be nearer the King's Preſence and Counſels. And when his Friends and Attendants began to renew their Thanks and Acclamations to him for his great Service and Faithfulneſs, in producing the Effects of this Day; he was ſo far from being exalted with any Opinion of his own Merit, that he declin'd them all: Telling them, *he had all along been beſet with ſo many Difficulties and Jealouſies upon him, as all Thanks and Acknowledgments muſt be only paid to the Miracle of the Divine Providence.*

VII. PRESENTLY after his Majeſty's Reſtauration, he ſettled his Privy-Council, choſen out of the chief Officers belonging to the Crown, and other principal Nobility; of which Number General *Monk* was one, and was continually admitted to all Counſels of the moſt interior Truſt and Concernment. He was alſo made Maſter of his Majeſty's Horſe, and one of the Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber.

By the first he had a considerable Station in the Court, and the other gave him the constant Opportunity of Access to his Majesty's Person and Converse.

VIII. AND having mention'd here his Majesty's Favour to the General, we are seasonably to inform the Reader with those Rewards placed upon that honourable Person, who did first and principally co-operate with the General in this great Affair, *viz.* Sir *John Greenvil*; who, upon his Majesty's Return, was made first Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and Groom of the Stole, and afterwards, against the Solemnity of the Coronation, was created Earl of *Bath*, Viscount *Greenvil* of *Landsdown*, Baron *Greenvil* of *Biddiford* and *Kelkhampton*. Nor were the Services of Mr. *Nicholas Monk* forgotten, being made Provost of *Eaton*, and afterwards Bishop of *Hereford*; in which Dignity he dy'd some Years after.

IX. AND because, in this present State of things, nothing requir'd greater Care than the Management of his Majesty's Exchequer, the General was chosen one of the Commissioners for the Treasury. But that Office was some time after intrusted in the Hands of a single Person, the late just and upright Earl of *Southampton*; after whose Death, both the

the King and People were ſo perfectly ſatiſfied with the General's Care and Faithfulneſs in that Truſt, that he was called to it again, and in which he continu'd to the Day of his Death. To this Employment he brought very congenial Virtues, both by his unqueſtionable Integrity and natural Frugality; ſo that he was a greater Husband in the King's Expences, than in ſome of his own.

X. Nor did the Current of his Majeſty's Favour and Gratitude to the General ſtop here, but within a little more than a Month after his Reſtauration, he was, by Letters Patents under the Great Seal of *England*, made Duke of *Albemarle*, Earl of *Torrington*, Baron *Monk* of *Potheridge*, *Beauchamp* and *Tees*; and, for the better Support of this high Dignity, beſides the Penſions recited in the Letters Patents, his Majeſty ſettled upon him ſeven thouſand Pounds *per Ann.* out of the Royal Demeſnes, to him and his Heirs for ever. He was alſo ſummon'd by Writ into the Houſe of Lords; and tho' the Commons were very ſorry to part with ſo dear and conſiderable a Member from their Body, yet, in Teſtimony of their great and particular Eſtimation and Reſpect towards ſo great and illuſtrious a Perſon, moſt of them attended him to the Door of the Lord's Houſe: Whither he brought with him the ſame Temper and Mode-

Moderation, the ſame Silence and Humility, which he had practis'd in the Houſe of Commons; applying himſelf always to ſuch Counſels as did moſt promote the King's Service, and the publick Benefit. To that End he much furthered the Progreſs of the Act of Oblivion and general Pardon, which was then under Debate, and had taken up ſo much Time in both Houſes; and did privately move his Majeſty to quicken their Proceedings therein, as being ſo very conſiderable and effectual to his own Security, and the Quiet of his People.

XI. THEY who have had the good Fortune and Abilities, by great Services, to oblige Kings and States, may be eaſily thought not to want Spirit or Inclinations enough to reflect upon their own Merits. And therefore ſuch as knew not the Virtues and Caution of the Duke of *Albemarle*, expected he would now have put that Value on himſelf, as to have govern'd the publick Counſels, to have over-rul'd the Opinions or Methods of others, or have render'd himſelf the Head of an Intereſt; or, with *Mutianus* (whoſe Services to *Veſpaſian* had rather ſome Reſemblance with the Duke's, than an Equality) have made himſelf a Companion with his Prince, and ſhar'd the Government. But, inſtead thereof, as he had poſſeſs'd his Majeſty's Favour by his great Prudence, ſo he us'd it

with equal Humility. And he that had many Years commanded Armies, which uſually makes the Temper of Generals violent and preſuming; he that for ſeveral Years, as an abſolute Prince, had govern'd *Scotland*, knew now as well how to obey, and be a dutiful Subject in *England*. Nor was he leſs careful of his juſt Regards and Obſervances towards all the Nobility and Miniſters of State, who, though they had frequent Emulations among themſelves, yet held good Correſpondence with the Duke of *Albemarle*; who invaded no Man's Province, nor engroſſed Buſineſs or Power to himſelf, nor was ever the Author of extreme Counſels. Though he wanted not early Enemies, even among thoſe who had but lately come to eat aſſured Bread by the Benefit of his Prudence and Faithfulneſs, and who began to accuſe the Virtue which kept ſome of them from ſtarving. The Ambitious envy'd the Greatneſs of his Merits, and the Covetous the Rewards of them.

XII. THOUGH a very conſiderable Part of the Duke's Intereſt lay in the Army, and the disbanding of them would greatly leſſen his Power and Influence; yet when the Parliament had voted their Diſcharge, no Man did more readily aſſent to it than the Duke of *Albemarle*; and, to that End, had beforehand introduc'd ſeveral of the Nobility into Commands

Commands in the Regiments, by whoſe Authority and Example they might more readily ſubmit.

XIII. His Majeſty had been very juſt to thoſe Forces, in the full Payment of their Arrears, and very kind alſo in the Gratuity given them over and above out of his Royal Bounty. Yet, that Poſterity may ſee how much the good Diſcipline of an Army prevails to the disbanding of them, as well as the keeping them up; the Duke had inured them to ſo exact an Obedience, that, when they ſaw their Continuance would be unneceſſary to the Nation, they laid down their Arms without Murmur, and betook themſelves to other Employments; to which they were enabled, by a very indulgent Act of Parliament that gave them their Freedom, to exerciſe their Trade in all Cities and Towns Corporate. This was a Temper very different from that in the Army of the late Uſurper *Cromwel*, who were ſo inſolent and reſtive, as they would only march at their own Pleaſure, and pick and chuſe their Employment, and had frequently mutiny'd againſt their Maſters upon the leaſt mention of disbanding.

XIV. It pleaſed his Majeſty about this Time to conſult with the Duke about the Government and Affairs of *Scotland*, and the Choice

Choice of Officers of State; in all which he advis'd with great Experience and Prudence; though many things were afterwards altered by the Influence and Importunities of others. But, as an Inſtance of thoſe true and exact Meaſures, which, in the Time of his own Command, he had taken, for ſettling the Peace of that Country; the Effects thereof continued many Years after he had left it: So that no Rebellion, nor any conſiderable Diſturbance, was form'd any more in *Scotland* during the Duke's Life.

XV. And now every Man had a greater Share in the Delights of this happy Change, than he who had the greateſt Share in effecting it, who could only enjoy the Satisfaction of it without the Diverſions, being always beſet with continual Cares of publick Truſt; which made Sir *Edward Nicholas* (who had been Secretary of State to two Kings) ſay, *That the Induſtry and Service which the Duke of* Albemarle *had paid to the Crown ſince the King's Reſtauration, without reflecting upon his Service before, deſerved all the Favour and Bounty which his Majeſty had been pleaſed to confer upon him.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

I. *General* Monk's *Candour in the Tryal of the Regicides; with a particular Act of Generoſity to Sir* Arthur Hazlerig. II. *An Inſurrection in* London: III. *But immediately ſuppreſſed by the General's own Regiment.* IV. *Which is continued.*

I. HITHERTO we have ſurvey'd the Endeavours of the Duke of *Albemarle* againſt the Enemies of the Crown, and now we ſhall find him employ'd in the Puniſhment of them. For the Parliament having now perfected the Act of Indemnity, and general Pardon, with their Exceptions to thoſe particular Perſons who had been concern'd in the Murder of the late King; his Majeſty accordingly granted his Commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer, under the great Seal of *England*, directed to ſeveral of the chief Nobility and Judges of the Land, for the Tryal of thoſe Regicides, which was begun *October* 9. *Oct.* 9. In the Number of theſe Commiſſioners the Duke of *Albemarle* was one, wherein he gave the World one of the greateſt Inſtances of his Moderation. For though he knew more of the Guilts and Practices of theſe Criminals, than moſt of thoſe who ſat on the Bench, and ſome of them had been his greateſt and moſt inveterate

inveterate Enemies; yet he aggravated nothing againſt them, but left them to a fair Tryal, and the Methods of their own Defence, when he could have offer'd Matter againſt ſome of them that would have preſſed them harder. And, by a like generous Way of forgiving Injuries, he had a little before ſaved the Life of Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*, and afterwards procured his Eſtate alſo, by owning of a Promiſe made to him; when there was no Man among them all had more maliciouſly expos'd and traduc'd him; and, after the Aſſurance given, he had done enough to diſengage the Duke from the Performance of it.

II. One might reaſonably have thought, that ſuch an Act of general Pardon as has been lately paſs'd, might have oblig'd the Minds of all People to a Submiſſion, and Satisfaction in the Government; but that Hereſy and Fanaticiſm are not to be cured by Balſams. For about this Time began ſuch an Inſurrection, as it is not eaſy to tell, whether the Fury or the Folly of it were the greater Ingredient. His Majeſty being then gone out of *London* to *Portſmouth*, whither he accompany'd the Queen-Mother and Ducheſs of *Orleans* in their Journey towards *France*; a ſmall Company of the Fifth-Monarchy Zealots having arm'd themſelves in their

their Meeting-Houſe, where uſually their Villanies are firſt hatch'd, broke out into an actual Rebellion in *London*. Their Teacher was alſo their Captain, one *Venner*, a Wine-Cooper, who had preach'd his Diſciples to a Degree of Madneſs and Extravagancies, beyond the Force of all the Wine in his Cellar.

III. THIS Irruption was ſo ſudden as did greatly ſurprize the City; and tho' their Number was contemptible, yet Men believ'd they would not have ventur'd on ſo deſperate an Attempt, but upon Confidence of a greater Party in *London* to join with them. Many of them had been Soldiers in *Cromwel's* Army, and, being poſſeſſed with the Height of fanatick Rage, laid about them at a rate not uſual. Nor was any effectual Reſiſtance made againſt them by the City Arms, or the new-rais'd Guards; till the Duke of *Albemarle* brought his own Regiment of Foot (not yet disbanded) up among them, who, being old Soldiers that had been long accuſtom'd to this kind of Work, quickly put a Check to their deſperate Madneſs, having kill'd and wounded ſeveral of them upon the Place, and diſperſed the reſt.

IV. UPON this Accident (though timely ſuppreſs'd) it was repreſented to the Duke by ſome of his Officers, of how little Service

Train'd-bands, or new-rais'd Guards, would prove upon any ſudden Diſturbance; and how neceſſary it were, both to his Majeſty's Safety and the publick Peace, to keep up his Grace's own Regiment, and ſome other ſmall Force, againſt ſuch haſty Attempts. To which the Duke reply'd, *That his Endeavour to continue any Part of his Army, would be obnoxious to much Miſinterpretation, that he would by no means appear in it*; but being further importuned, *that he would not hinder their Endeavours therein*, he made no Anſwer. But, by theſe Applications to his Majeſty and Council, that Regiment was ſtill kept up.

CHAP. XXVIII.

I. *The King's Coronation.* II. *The Duke grows inclinable to a private Life.* III, IV. *A War with* Holland; *the Duke of* York *and Prince* Rupert *command the Fleet.* V. *An Engagement.* VI. *the* Dutch *beaten.* VII. *Our Fleet purſues them as far as the* Texel. VIII. *The Loſs the* Dutch *ſuſtained.* IX. *The Bravery of*

the Duke of York. X. *The Plague breaks out in* London; *upon which the King goes to* Oxford. XI. *The Care of the City committed to the Duke of* Albemarle: *His Tenderneſs and Compaſſion to the Poor.* XII. *He is aſſiſted by the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *and the Earl of* Craven. XIII. *An Encampment in* Hyde-Park. XIV. *The Multiplicity of Affairs wherein the General was involv'd.*

I. THE following Year begins with his Majeſty's Coronation; which was perform'd with greater Ceremony and Magnificence, than we can meet with in the Inauguration of any of his Royal Predeceſſors. The preparatory Ceremony began *April* 22. with his Majeſty's triumphal Paſſage through the City from the Tower of *London*, to his Palace at *White-Hall*; attended by his domeſtick Servants, the Judges, and Nobility, with the chief Officers of State, and paſſing thro' thoſe four triumphal Arches, which the Citizens had erected, to do Honour to the Solemnity of the Day. In this Ceremony the Duke of *Albemarle*, as Maſter of the Horſe, followed his Majeſty's Triumph, leading the Horſe of State. The next Day his Majeſty was ſolemnly crown'd at *Weſtminſter*, in the Abbey Church, with all the uſual Ceremonies. In the Proceſſion from *Weſtminſter-Hall* to 1661. *April* 23.

the Abbey, the Regalia were carried before the King by the chief Nobility, and, among the reſt, the Sceptre and Dove was born by the Duke of *Albemarle*. In the Time of the anointing, he was one of the four that held up the Pall of Cloth of Gold over his Majeſty's Head, whilſt the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* perform'd the Unction. And afterwards he, and the Duke of *Buckingham*, did Homage for themſelves and the reſt of the Order of Dukes in *England*.

II. And now his Majeſty being perfectly ſettled in the Government, actually crown'd, and the Army disbanded; the Duke of *Albemarle*, for ſome Years, betook himſelf to Privacy: So that we find no very publick Action of his Life for ſome Years, ſave that he carefully attended at the Privy-Council, adviſing with his Majeſty upon all Occaſions, and was conſtantly preſent at the Houſe of Lords in the ſeveral Seſſions of Parliament.

III. At home all things were quiet and orderly, excepting ſome little Plots and Contrivances among the Seditious; which were ſtill ſo timely diſcern'd, that they were as eaſily prevented. Nor had his Majeſty any Quarrels abroad, having renewed Alliances with all his Neighbours, till a War begun
1664. with the *Dutch*: Who refuſing to give Satisfaction

tisfaction for old Injuries, and contriving the Practice of new ones, rais'd such a Multitude of Complaints against them by the Subjects of this Crown, that his Majesty (having first in vain sought Reparation by Treaties and Messages) resolv'd at last, with the Advice of his Privy-Council, to enter into a War with the *States*: Which was seconded by a brisk and unanimous Vote of the Parliament then sitting, for the raising of Money proportionable to maintain it. So that by the following Spring his Majesty had made ready a Fleet of near an hundred Ships of War, furnish'd with above thirty thousand Mariners and Soldiers. And his Royal Highness the Duke of *York*, being also Lord High Admiral of *England*, undertook the Conduct of them, accompany'd with the most illustrious Prince *Rupert*, who commanded a Squadron, the late General *Mountague* (since Earl of *Sandwich*) being Vice-Admiral. But, before his Royal Highness went on Board the Fleet, he left the Care of the Admiralty to the Duke of *Albemarle*, to provide for the Stores and Provision of the Navy, which was all attended with a very particular Industry.

IV. ABOUT the 22d of *April* this Fleet set Sail from the *Downs* to the *Dutch* Coasts, and came to an Anchor about the *Texel*; where they continued for almost a Month, *April* 22.

expecting daily the coming out of the *Dutch* Fleet, and provoking them to a Battle, by taking daily ſeveral of their Ships. But, being wearied with ſo long Delays, and having in a Month's Time, exhauſted much of their naval Proviſions, his Royal Highneſs brought back the Fleet toward their own Shores, from whence they might be again more ſpeedily ſupply'd. But, whilſt he lay at Anchor in the *Gun-fleet* near *Harwich*, he receiv'd Advice that the *Dutch* were come out to Sea, conſiſting of more than one hundred Ships, and proportionably mann'd, led by the Admiral *Opdam*, and four Vice-Admirals; and, in their Way had ſurpriz'd ſeveral *Engliſh* Merchant-men coming from *Hamburgh*, which had unfortunately fallen in among them. Though his Royal Highneſs had preſented them Battle upon their own Coaſts, yet he was not willing to receive the like Offer from them at home, but commanded the Fleet inſtantly to weigh Anchor
June 1. towards *Sowald* Bay, where he arriv'd *June* 1. And the ſame Day Intelligence was brought him, by ſome Ships kept out for Diſcovery, that they had Sight of the Enemy's Fleet. Wherefore he commanded the Fleet to weigh again, and to get farther off from Shore, for the Benefit of Sea-Room.

June 2. V. THE next Morning his Royal Highneſs

neſs made all the Sail he could to join the *Dutch* Fleet; but they, being to Windward of him, declin'd engaging. That Night both Fleets came to an Anchor at convenient Diſtance from each other; ſo that the next Day, *June* 3. after three in the Morning, Prince *Rupert*, who commanded the Van, began the Fight. But the *Dutch* being deſirous to gain the Wind of the *Engliſh* Fleet, kept off at preſent from all cloſe Engagement, and made ſeveral Tracts upon him: So that his Royal Highneſs came at length to have his own Squadron in Front of the Enemy's Line; having Sir *John Lawſon* on head of him, who bore in upon the *Dutch* Fleet, ſeconded by his Royal Highneſs, keeping ſtill the Wind of them, to prevent the Aſſault of their Fireſhips, wherein they exceeded the *Engliſh* Fleet. The Duke then obſerving Admiral *Opdam*'s Ship to come up into their Line, commanded his own to bear up to him, by whoſe Example, and following the Motions of the Admiral's Ship, the Body of the *Engliſh* Fleet came cloſe up to the Enemy, and ply'd their Guns on all Hands at near Diſtances. But his Royal Highneſs charg'd Admiral *Opdam* ſo warmly, that, after a ſmart Encounter, his Powder-Room was fir'd, and the Ship blown up.

VI. BEFORE this Accident the *Dutch*

Fleet began to ſhrink, and give Ground; but when they obſerv'd the Loſs of their Admiral and his Ship, they made their own Misfortune this Day the greater, by an haſty and inconſiderate Flight; in which they loſt the *Orange-Tree*, a Ship of ſeventy ſix Guns, ſecond to the Admiral, which was taken and burnt; and, in this frightful Run, four of their capital Ships, falling foul of each other, were burnt by a Fireſhip cloſe to them. Afterwards three more, by a like Accident, being intangled, were deſtroy'd by another.

VII. His Majeſty's Fleet had the Chace of the *Dutch* all the Day towards their own Coaſts, and in the Night kept up with them; ſo that, in the Morning early, they were upon them again, deſtroying more of their Ships, and purſuing them to the Mouth of the *Texel*; where, being better acquainted with rheir Road, and drawing leſs Water, they got in with the firſt Tide. And afterwards his Royal Highneſs brought off the *Engliſh* Fleet triumphing in their Spoils, and Victory of their Enemies, to their own Shame.

VIII. In this Fight there fell of the *Dutch*, beſides Admiral *Opdam*, three Vice-Admirals, *Stillingwalf*, and *Schamp*, and about eight or ten thouſand common Soldiers and Mariners, with the Loſs of about twenty eight

eight Ships, taken and ſunk; with a very inconſiderable Damage to his Majeſty's Navy, having loſt only one little Veſſel, call'd the *Mary*, taken in the Beginning of the Fight, and carried off with them; and the Loſs of Men was alſo diſproportionable. Only ſome honourable Perſons, who ſerv'd as Volunteers or honorary Soldiers at this Battle, fell in it; as the Earl of *Portland*: But the Earl of *Falmouth*, the Lord *Muskerry*, and Mr. *Boyle*, ſecond Son to the Earl of *Burlington*, were cut off together by one Shot in his Royal Highneſs's Ship. The Earl of *Marlborough*, who commanded a Frigat, was here ſlain, with Rear-Admiral *Johnſon*. Vice-Admiral *Lawſon* received a Hurt in his Knee, at the Beginning of the Fight, which was thought ſo inconſiderable, that there was not that timely Care taken of it which it deſerv'd: Nor did he make ſo much Haſte to Shore, as he ſhould; ſo that in about five Weeks he dy'd thereof.

IX. In this Engagement his Royal Highneſs had ſo far expoſed himſelf, that neither his Majeſty, nor his People, were willing to adventure the next Hope of the Commonwealth, to any further Dangers and Hazards: So that, the remaining Part of this Summer, the Earl of *Sandwich*, being Vice-Admiral of *England*, commanded the Fleet. But this

late Fight had ſo taken down the *Dutch* Stomachs, that, for the reſt of this Year, they had neither Force nor Courage to adventure upon another Engagement.

X. WITH the Beginning of this War, began alſo a moſt fatal Peſtilence in *London*, and both were of *Dutch* Original. For as they brought the War upon themſelves, by their ſeveral Depredations of *Engliſh* Goods; ſo they ſent us the Contagion in ſome of their own, convey'd hither out of *Holland*, where lately the Plague had very ſeverely raged. It began firſt in *London*, and from thence was diſpers'd to moſt of the principal Towns and Cities of the Nation, accompany'd with ſo great Mortality, as we have no Account of the like Contagion in any Age or Annals of *England*. His Majeſty was therefore enforc'd to leave his Palace at *White-Hall*, and retire to *Oxford*, whither afterwards the Houſes of Parliament and the Term were adjourn'd. The Nobility alſo, and Gentry, and principal Citizens, were diſpers'd for Refuge from the Infection throughout all the Villages of *England*.

XI. BUT being the capital City of the Nation was not to be left at random, where not only the Poor, enforc'd by Neceſſity, or encourag'd through Liberty, might riſle the Houſes of the Rich, but the Seditious alſo might

might take the Opportunity to practiſe new Miſchiefs; it pleas'd his Majeſty to entruſt the Care and ſafety of the Place with the Duke of *Albemarle*, commanding his Continuance in the Town. And though his Grace might very well, with the reſt of the Nobility, have conſulted his own Safety, by retreating with his Majeſty to *Oxford*, or to ſome of his own Retirements in the Country, and his paſt Services might have fairly exempted him from this hazardous Attendance, and throw it upon ſome others; yet he very willingly obey'd, and, when other Men had expos'd their Eſtates and Fortunes to ſecure their Lives, he was contented to ſtay and expoſe his own Life to ſecure their Properties. Nor did he only direct his Care to the Concernments of the Rich, but eſpecially for the Neceſſities of the Poor, by continually inſpecting the Diſtributions of the publick Charity, to which was alſo ſuperadded a Share of his own private Bounty.

XII. In theſe Cares he was greatly helped by the Aſſiſtance of two other great and honourable Perſons, who alſo remained in the City: His Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who ſtay'd a great Part of the Time at his Palace at *Lambeth*, where, beſides his own vaſt and diffuſive Charity towards the Poor and Afflicted, he ſo effectually

ſolicited the other Biſhops in *England*, that ſeveral great and almoſt incredible Sums of Money were rais'd for Relief of the infected. And had the Factious given the hundredth Part of their Bounty, the Nation muſt have rung with the Noiſe of their Charity. With the like compaſſionate Care did the Earl of *Craven* continue in the Town, diſtributing conſtantly the greateſt Part of his Revenue to ſupply the Neceſſities of the ſick and periſhing.

XIII. The Guards and neceſſary Forces left with the Duke for ſecuring the Peace of the City, were, by his Order, quarter'd in *Hyde Park*, where there were Tents and Conveniences made ready for them; but, notwithſtanding all his Care, and their Diſtance from the Infection, yet he loſt a great Part of them. His own Reſidence he ſtill continued at the *Cock-pit* near *White Hall*, where, by his free Admiſſion of all Perſons that had Buſineſs with him, he convers'd daily with more aſſured Dangers, than in any of the Battles that had been fought by him.

XIV. But, beſides the Hazard of this Employment, it was attended with ſo many Cares and infinite Importunities, as would have troubled an Head that had not been habitually accuſtom'd to Buſineſs like the Duke of

of *Albemarle*'s. For his Majesty being removed to *Oxford*, the Duke was oblig'd to constant Correspondence with him, besides his assiduous Dispatches to the Lord Chancellor, and the Secretaries of State. With the Fleet he had continual Business, in ordering Supplies for them, upon all Occasions, out of the Stores in the City. His Care was endless and uncessant, both with the Admiralty, and Commissioners of the Navy, in inspecting the Management of the Prize-Office: Besides his daily Correspondencies with the Lord Mayor, for Relief of the Poor, and Security of the City; his granting Licences for Ships to Sea, and appointing Convoys to attend them. In all which, having a croud of Business, neither the Danger of his Person, nor the Trouble of his Employment, gave him any Disturbance; but his Grace was as easy and present to himself, and well pleas'd, as other Men are in their Recreations and Diversions.

CHAP. XXIX.

I. *Prince* Rupert *and the Duke of* Albemarle *join'd in Commission against the* Dutch. II. *The*

The Duke accepts the Charge, againſt the Advice of his Friends. III. *Has the Care of making all the Naval Preparations.* IV. *The King returns to* London. V. *The Admirals go on Board.* VI. *The* Dutch *make an Alliance with the* French. VII. *Who aſſiſt them, and declare War againſt* England. VIII. *The Preparations on both Sides towards Action.* IX. *The* Dutch *Fleet appears.* X. *They come to an Engagement.* XI. *The Event of it.* XII, XIII. *Another Engagement. The Duke reſolves to retreat.* XIV. *The Manner of his Retreat.* XV. *Prince* Rupert *returns.* XVI. *And joins the Duke's Fleet; the* Dutch *upon their Conjunction retiring.* XVII, XVIII. *Reſolved, in a Council of War, to give them Battle again.* XIX. *Our Fleets follow them.* XX. *They come to an Engagement upon the* Dutch *Coaſt,* XXI. *The Duke's Courage and Conduct in this Action.* XXII. *The* Dutch *are beaten, and get off; the* Engliſh *returning home.* XXIII. *Different Reflections upon the Duke's Conduct.* XXIV. *The Opinion of the* Dutch *upon it.* XXV. *The* Dutch *put to Sea again.* XXVI. *The* Engliſh *Fleet purſues them to their own Coaſts;* XXVII. *And engages them.*

I. TO-

I. TOWARDS the End of the Year, his Majeſty adviſ'd with his Privy Council at *Oxford*, about the Conduct of the Fleet next Spring. And though his Royal Highneſs was very importunate to finiſh the War with the *Dutch*, which he had ſo fortunately begun; yet, ſince they were reſolv'd not to venture his Perſon again to further Hazards, it was at laſt determin'd, that his Highneſs Prince *Rupert*, and the Duke of *Albemarle*, ſhould, by joint Commiſſion, command at Sea, and carry on the War the following Summer.

II. THE Prince, being preſent upon the Place, accepted the Charge; and his Majeſty appointed the Duke ſhould haſten down to *Oxford*; which he preſently did by Poſt, and chearfully ſubmitted to the Commands of his Sovereign; though there wanted not thoſe about him, who diſſuaded him from this Employment; alledging, that his Merits were great and unweildy already, and his Reputation higher than to need further Advance; that his Fortune had already foyl enough, and that he had now no greater Concern than topreſerve himſelf where he was; that the ill Succeſs of this War might perhaps be ſufficient to leſſen him; but the Proſperouſneſs of it would add little to his Fame, and much

to

to Envy. Though there wanted not ſome Reaſon in theſe Suggeſtions, yet the Duke lik'd no politick Contrivance in the Inſtance of his Obedience; and having ſtaid three Days at *Oxford*, adviſing privately with the King about the Preparations for the War, and receiv'd his Majeſty's Thanks for his faithful Care of the publick Safety, and Security of the City, he return'd back to his Charge at *London*.

III. And now, being made Co-admiral at Sea, he had another Province added to the reſt of his Cares, whereby he was oblig'd to give Orders for the making ready ſuch Ships as were not yet finiſh'd, and the Repair of others, that had been diſabled in this Year's War, beſides all other naval Preparations for the following Spring.

IV. Though the Plague did greatly ſpread and increaſe in other remoter Cities and Places of the Kingdom, yet, towards the End of the Year, it manifeſtly abated in *London*; and the City became ſo clear'd from farther
Feb. 1. Infection, that about the firſt of *February*, his Majeſty haſten'd his Return from *Oxford* to his Court at *White-Hall*, where he might more commodiouſly inſpect his Affairs, and adviſe for the further Preparations of his Fleet. The late Mortality, as it had ſwept away

away great Multitudes in the Suburbs of the City, ſo it had deſtroyed abundance of the Seamen in thoſe Pariſhes adjoining to the River, and had done the like in other maritime Towns of *England*: Inſomuch that there was ſome Difficulty in procuring enough of thoſe ſtout and valiant People to man the Fleet. But the Duke of *Albemarle*, having formerly commanded at Sea, had ſo much Reputation and Influence among the Seamen, that, whilſt there was any of them left in *England*, he was not likely to want their Company in his Majeſty's Service. And, by the united Intereſt and Influence of the Prince, notwithſtanding the Diſadvantages of the late Plague, all things were brought into ſo good Readineſs, as that both the Men and Ships would quickly be fit to ſail, attending for their Admirals to come on Board.

V. ACCORDINGLY, *April* 23. being St. *George*'s Day, his Highneſs Prince *Rupert*, and the Duke of *Albemarle*, took Leave of his Majeſty and the Court; and, at *White-Hall* Stairs, in one of the King's Barges, went down the River to the Fleet.

VI. NOR were the *Dutch* all this while leſs ſedulous in preparing their own Navy. The laſt Year's War had ſo much weaken'd their Fleet, but more the Courage of their

People, that they found themſelves not able to continue it further without the Arms of their Neighbours. To that End they had contracted a new Alliance with *France*, from whence they were to have the Aſſiſtance of the *French* Fleet, led by the Duke *de Beaufort*.

VII. His Majeſty of *Great Britain* was already ſo much ſuperior to all his Neighbours at Sea, that the *French* King was greatly afraid he ſhould grow more potent there, by his further Succeſs againſt the *Dutch*. And though he hated nothing more than that People, and their Government, yet he lov'd his own Intereſt better than to depart from it, by denying them Aſſiſtance. He had already deſign'd the Invaſion of their Country by Land, and therefore was not a little concerned, that his Majeſty ſhould prevent him in the Conqueſt, by ſubduing them firſt at Sea. And other ſecret Reaſons led him, in Conjunction with the *Dutch*, to declare War againſt *England*; which was accordingly denounced back upon him into *France*.

VIII. Prince *Rupert* and the Duke of *Albemarle* had, by this Time, brought the Fleet to ſuch Readineſs, as they were come to an Anchor in the *Downs*, reſolving from thence to ſet ſail for the *Dutch* Coaſts,

Coasts, and find out the Enemy. But, in the interim, his Majesty had receiv'd Intelligence from *France*, that the Duke *de Beaufort* had made equal Dispatch in getting ready the *French* Fleet, and was coming out to join with the *Dutch*. Upon which Information from thence, his Majesty, with the Advice of the Privy Council, dispatch'd away Orders to his Fleet, *That Prince* Rupert *should take twenty of the best and nimblest Frigats, and, directing his Way towards the Coasts of* France, *should attend the Motions of the* French *Admiral, and engage him before he could join his Fleet with the* Dutch. These Instructions were presently put in Execution by his Highness, leaving the Duke, with the rest of the Fleet, still in the *Downs*.

IX. THE last of *May* the Duke set sail from the *Downs*; and the next Morning early, the *Bristol*, plying about a League from the rest of the Fleet, discovered several Sail; and therefore fir'd three Guns one after another, which gave Warning to the Fleet. About eight of the same Morning, from the Admiral's Top-mast-head, they discovered about eleven or twelve Sail; and at the same time other Ships discovered about twenty or thirty Sail more, towards *Dunkirk* and *Ostend*, and presently after more of them were descry'd; so that it was out of hand concluded to be *May* 31. *June* 1.

the *Dutch* Fleet. Therefore his Grace presently commanded the Flag-Officers to meet in a Council of War, where were present Sir *Robert Holmes*, Sir *Joseph Jordan*, Sir *Christopher Mings*, Sir *George Ascough*, Rear-Admiral *Harman*, and others, where it was debated, *Whether they should adventure to engage the* Dutch *in the Absence of so considerable a Part of their Fleet, then gone off with the Prince. But, in regard several good Ships, besides the* Royal Sovereign, *then at Anchor in the* Gun-fleet (*neither fully mann'd, nor ready*) *would, upon their Retreat, be in Danger of a Surprizal by the Enemy; and that such a Course might have some Impression upon the Spirit and Courage of the Seamen, who had not been accustom'd to decline fighting with the* Dutch; *it was at last unanimously resolved to abide them, and the Fleet should presently be put in Readiness to fall into a Line.* This Advice was agreeable to the Opinion and Sentiments of the Duke, who did very much undervalue the Power and Force of the *Dutch* Fleet, expecting such easy Conquests as he had obtained thirteen Years before. But the *Dutch* of late had built much greater and stronger Ships, and, by often Tryals, had learnt from the *English* the Experience of fighting better.

X. The

X. THE *Dutch* Fleet was that Day eſteemed about ſeventy ſix Sail, and ten Fire-ſhips, commanded by the Admiral *de Ruyter*, who ſucceeded after the Death of *Opdam*. With the Duke there was not above fifty Frigats, whereof eighteen were heavy *Dutch* Bottoms, which had been taken from the Enemy in this and the former War. About one of the Clock, about Mid-Sea, towards the Coaſt of *Dunkirk*, the Fight was begun by Rear-Admiral *Harman*, of the *White* Squadron, who led the Van, and bore in upon the *Zealand* Squadron, riding head-moſt of the Enemy's Fleet, and preſently a great Part of the Ships on both Sides were engaged. But the Wind blowing high, the Force of the *Dutch* Fleet fell chiefly upon the Sails and Rigging of the *Engliſh*. The Duke was ſo intent upon this Charge, that he engaged far among them, till he had moſt of his Tackling taken clear off by the Chain-Shot, and his Standard ſtruck down, ſo that he was forc'd to tack and go off to an Anchor, being reliev'd by the *Royal-Oak*. And, having ſpeedily rigg'd again with Jury-Maſts, and brought new Sails to the Yards, he ſtood in again, and fell into the Body of the *Dutch* Fleet, where he engaged *de Ruyter*; and, about this Time, four of the *Dutch* great Ships were ſunk and burnt; but many of the Sea-men ſav'd, being

taken up by the *Engliſh* Boats and Tenders; and *Trump* receiv'd a full Broad-ſide from the *Royal Catherine*, which ſo diſabled him, that he was forc'd to get off, as alſo were ſeveral other capital Ships that drew into Harbour. Among the reſt, *Van Trump*, with his Ship of eighty two Guns; *Van Ghent*, with his Ship of ſeventy; and *Neſſe*, with a Ship of eighty Guns (beſides ſome others) got into the *Goree*, miſerably torn and ſhatter'd.

XI. Nor was it any whit better with ſeveral of the *Engliſh* Ships, which, by that Day's Work, were ſo diſabled in their Shrouds, Maſts, and Tackling, that they were forc'd to retire, and make their Way to the next Harbour. The *Henry* had three Fire-ſhips upon her, yet had the good Fortune to clear them all with ſome Loſs, but ſo torn and ſhatter'd, as ſhe was ſent off to Harbour. In this Day's Engagement there appeared no conſiderable Damage to any of the Ships themſelves. All the Tempeſt fell above Deck among the Shrouds and Maſts; and, for the Length and Fierceneſs of the Encounter, there were very few Men kill'd or wounded. His Grace receiv'd that Day a ſmall Bruiſe in his Hand by a Splinter, and, among thoſe unlucky and thick Vollies that brought down his Tackling, one of them ſhot away his Breeches, but leaving the Skin untouch'd;

and,

and, by nine or ten of the Clock at Night, both Sides were well enough content to give over, and fall to mending their Sails and Rigging.

XII. THE next Morning about ſix, the Fight begun again, and the Duke, though ſo much inferior to the Enemy, in the Number of Ships, was yet the Aggreſſor, and moſt Part of the Day had the Advantage of the *Dutch* Fleet, till towards two in the Afternoon; about which Time the Enemy, which was ſo much ſuperior in Number before, was recruited by the Acceſſion of ſixteen freſh Ships, by which they were enabled to preſs very hard upon the *Engliſh* Fleet, who yet kept their Ground, and fought it out till Evening, though extremely ſhatter'd in their Maſts, Sails, and Rigging, and many Men kill'd. The *Dutch* loſt three good Ships in this Day's Engagement; and the Duke four, the *Swift-ſure*, the *Eagle*, the *Loyal George*, and the *Catherine*; which two laſt were no Part of the Royal Navy, but Merchant-men which had been hir'd into the Service. Yet though the Ships were deſtroy'd, the Men were generally ſav'd. This Night the Lord *Oſſory*, and Sir *Thomas Clifford*, with ſome other Perſons of Quality, came from *Dover* on board the Admiral, by whom his Grace was aſſur'd, that the Prince was upon his Return. *June* 2.

XIII. BUT

XIII. But this Day's Work had ſo far diſabled ſeveral of his Majeſty's Ships in their Maſts and Rigging; and their odds of Number was ſo extremely diſproportionable, that it was reſolved this Night by the Council of War, (having with unequal Force ſo advantagiouſly aſſerted the Honour of his Majeſty, and their own Gallantry,) to make a fair and regular Retreat.

June 3. XIV. To that End, the next Morning his Grace ordered all the Men out of two or three ſlug Ships, which were unſerviceable, and commanded them to be fired, rather than put them to the Hazard of falling into the Enemy's Hand in his Retreat. And now he had not full forty good Ships with him to make good his Retreat againſt about ninety of the Enemy's. But, commanding all his weak and diſabled Frigats to go off before him, and placing about ſixteen or twenty of the ſoundeſt and moſt in Heart to the Enemy's Front, he began a regular and leiſurely Retreat, which was managed with ſo much Bravery and Courage, that the *Dutch*, though poſſeſſed with ſo many great Advantages upon him, had no great Stomach to the Purſuit, contenting themſelves to follow a-loof off, and to fire their Guns at ſuch Diſtance, as gave no Prejudice to the *Engliſh* Fleet: Till about four

four in the Afternoon, the Wind encreasing, they came closer up to the Duke in two Bodies, and spent some Broad-sides upon his Ship; but were so warmly ply'd from the *English* Fleet with their Stern Pieces, as made them contented to lye further off.

XV. The same fresh Gale which at this Time had brought up the *Dutch* Fleet, brought also the Prince with his Squadron in View of the Duke's Ships, which now appeared in the most seasonable Minute, having made all the Sail they could to come to his Relief. Nor was the Duke less willing to join the Prince and his Squadron. But, in making their Way towards him, several of the principal Ships, and among the rest, the Duke in the *Royal Charles*, came a-ground on the *Gapper* or the *Galloper Sands*, but had all of them the good Fortune to get off again; only the *Royal Prince*, a great and brave Frigat, was so deeply stranded, that it was not possible to bring her off, but became a Prey to the Enemy, where Sir *George Ascough* that commanded in her, and his Company, were taken Prisoners. And when the *Dutch* also had in vain attempted to get her off the Sands, at Night they burnt her down. This unfortunate striking of so many of our Ships upon the Sands, gave the *Dutch* so great an Opportunity of destroying the Duke's Fleet,

as

as they have Cauſe never to forgive the Commanders that made no greater Advantage of it, where all might have been loſt, if the Enemy had been brave enough to have adventured for it.

XVI. So ſoon as the *Dutch* obſerv'd the Approach of the Prince with his Squadron, *de Ruyter* ſent over a Party of between twenty and thirty Ships to meet him, himſelf with the reſt of the Fleet ſtill attending the Motion of the Duke. This Squadron of the *Dutch* Fleet ſent out againſt the Prince, ſeem'd to provoke him to the Combat; but becauſe he as yet knew nothing of the State of the Fleet, he reſolv'd firſt to ſend off a Veſſel to the Duke, letting him know, that, if he thought it moſt adviſable, he would keep to Windward, and engage that Party which had been ſent out to brave him. But, leaſt the Veſſel ſhould not return Time enough to prevent the Prince's Intention, his Grace firſt fir'd two Guns from the *Royal Charles*, to give him Warning, and made a Waft with his Flag; and preſently after the Meſſenger return'd alſo, and brought his Highneſs Caution from the Duke, *That he ſhould by no means bear up the Squadron, there being a dangerous Sand, called the* Galloper, *lying between them, where ſeveral of his own Ships had that Day been ſtranded; and, at*

one

one End of it, the Royal Prince *was loſt: That the Appearance of the* Dutch *Squadron in that Place, was only to tempt them into the Bank, and draw them into the Toil.* Upon this Advice, his Highneſs preſently bore away to the Northward, to get clear of thoſe dangerous Sands, and, by the Evening, made his Way to the Duke's Fleet, the Enemy all this while, not offering them any Diſturbance. But ſo ſoon as they perceiv'd the *Engliſh* Fleet to be all join'd, the *Dutch* Fleet preſently haled cloſe upon a Wind, and went out of Sight.

XVII. THE Duke preſently haſten'd to attend his Highneſs in the *Royal James*, and gave him an Account of all Particulars in theſe three Days Action. That Night a Council of War was called, where were preſent Sir *Thomas Allyn*, Sir *Chriſtopher Mings*, Sir *Edward Sprag*, and the reſt; where it was agreed, *That it would be injurious to his Majeſty's Honour, and the Reſolution of the* Engliſh *Fleet, to let the* Dutch *go off thus, and to carry home with them the Appearance of an Advantage: That the Courage of the Sea-men was ſtill brave and high, and the Fleet in Heart; their Hulls being all untouch'd, and the Damage hitherto being only in their Shrouds and Tackling: That by the working of the Enemy's Fleet all this Day, when*

when our Fleet retreated, it appear'd, tho' they were ſo much higher in Number, yet they were lower in Courage.

XVIII. It was therefore reſolv'd, *That, the next Day, they would fall upon the Enemy; and that his Highneſs's Squadron, being freſh and untouched, and being the beſt ſailing Frigats in the Fleet, ſhould lead the Van.*

June 4. XIX. And on *Munday*, by the Morning Light, the *Engliſh* Fleet was under Sail; and, the *Dutch* being gone out of Sight, they ſtood their Courſe after them; and ſome while after recovered Sight of their Fleet, who made their Way at Leiſure towards their own Coaſts. For, beſides what Damage they had themſelves known and ſeen in the *Engliſh* Fleet after three Days Fighting, they had receiv'd from thoſe Priſoners they had taken out of the *Royal Prince*, ſuch an Account of the ſhattered and diſabled Condition of the *Engliſh* Fleet, that they could not eaſily believe the Prince and Duke would have the Courage to purſue them; or, if they ſhould, yet the *Dutch* had ſo much Wit in their Anger, as they would endeavour to fight near home, whereby, upon any Diſadvantage, they might more eaſily run into their own Stations, whither the *Engliſh* could not eaſily follow them.

XX. By

XX. By eight of the Clock the *Engliſh* Fleet was got up to them; and the *Dutch*, having got the Weathergage, put their Fleet in Readineſs, and fell into a Line all to Windward of the *Engliſh* Fleet; which, coming up in very good Order, ranged themſelves for the Fight. Sir *Chriſtopher Mings* with his Diviſion led the Van, next the Prince with his Squadron, and then Sir *Edward Sprag*, having the Duke of *Albemarle* in the Rear. The Fight was begun with that Courage on both Sides, and continu'd with ſuch Fierceneſs, as any one would have thought it the firſt Day's Encounter, rather than their fourth. In the firſt, Rear-Admiral *Mings*, and ſome other Ships were diſabled, and preſently enforc'd to quit the Fight, whilſt the Prince with his freſh Squadron, found the Enemy Work on all Hands, ſucceeded by the Duke, who revengingly charged them.

XXI. One of their Vice-Admirals, being a ſtout Ship, boldly attempted to board him, coming up ſo near, that the Shroud Arms touched each other; but his Grace receiv'd him with ſo full a Broad-ſide, and pour'd upon him ſo ſmart a Volly of his ſmall Shot, that he immediately fell a Stern, and appear'd no more, nor any other to ſucceed in his Room. And *Trump* receiv'd ſuch another

Broad-ſide from the *Royal Catherine*, as utterly diſabled him for the reſt of the Day. But the *Dutch* knowing his Grace's Squadron, by the former three Days Fight, to be weaker than the reſt, charged fiercely upon him, and gave him no Breath, whilſt the Duke, by his extraordinary Conduct and infinite Courage, ſo managed the Force of his Squadron, improving vigorouſly ſuch Ships as were in Heart and Strength, and warily ſheltering ſuch as were moſt diſabled, that he ſtill gained Ground upon the Enemy.

XXII. Both the Prince and Duke had, in this Day's Engagement, five times paſſed through the Body of the *Dutch* Fleet, at every Paſs making ſome ſignal Impreſſion upon them. And by this time the *Dutch* were fought ſo low, that Part of the Fleet began to think of ſecuring themſelves by retreating; and, among the reſt, *de Ruyter*, who, to diſguiſe his Flight, or to ſecure it, made Shew as if he would tack again; which being obſerv'd by the Prince, who, towards Evening, with eight or ten of his Frigats had got to Windward of the Enemy's Fleet, he was reſolved to bear in upon them, and at one Puſh to compleat the Victory, by putting them to the Run. At the ſame Inſtant his Main-top-maſt, being terribly ſhaken, came all by the Board; and the Duke, who alſo at the ſame time

time ſtood by the Leeward of the Enemy with his Squadron, gave Order to tack and join with the Prince, in this concluding Charge upon the Enemy. But having, in the laſt Paſs, receiv'd two Shots in his Powder-Room between Wind and Water, they could not preſently be ſtopped. His Main-top-maſt alſo was ſo ſhatter'd by a Shot through it, that he was forced to lower his Top-ſail; and at the ſame Time his Fore-maſt had received ſo many Shots, that it was diſabled for further Service at preſent. By which unhappy Accidents the *Dutch* Fleet gain'd a lucky Opportunity to make the beſt of their Way, and got off much fairer than otherwiſe they ſhould have done, being purſu'd by ſome of the nimbler Frigats whilſt their Powder and the Light laſted. In this Engagement the *Dutch* had ſix Ships fir'd and ſunk; on the *Engliſh* Side were loſt only the *Prince* (worth all the *Dutch* loſt) and the *Eſſex*, having grappled with a *Dutch* Ship, was by others boarded and taken. Two Days after, his Highneſs and the Duke brought the Fleet to an Anchor in the *Gun-fleet*; but a great Part of them ſo miſerably torn and ſhatter'd, that they had little elſe to boaſt of, except the honourable Marks of a ſevere Engagement. From thence the Fleet was diſtributed into ſeveral Harbours, to be refitted with all poſſible Speed; and the Commiſſioners of the

Navy were ſtrictly obliged to inſpect the Diſpatch. His Highneſs and the Duke of *Albemarle* haſten'd then to *London* to attend his Majeſty: To whom they were the more welcome, by thoſe extraordinary Services and Hazards they had paſſed through.

XXIII. This Action of the Duke's, in adventuring to fight the *Dutch* after the dividing the Fleet, was by ſeveral Men variouſly conſidered. His Enemies, though they acknowledg'd his Courage and Generoſity, yet did greatly accuſe his Diſcretion; and did ſuggeſt, *That a little Allay of the Coward was a ſafer Ingredient in a General, than ſuch vaſt and tranſcendent Raſhneſs: And tho' he came off well, yet he intruſted Fortune with a greater Stock than a wiſe Man would put into her Hands.* But his Majeſty, and all diſcerning Perſons, had another Opinion of this extraordinary Action: *That it was grounded on the greateſt Reaſon and Neceſſity, and that the Honour of the Nation was concerned in it: That he had thereby given the greateſt Inſtance of his own and the* Engliſh *Proweſs; and had raiſed the Reputation of his Majeſty's Naval Force to ſuch an Height of Glory, as would render him more terrible to his Enemies, and deſir'd by his Allies.*

XXIV. And

XXIV. AND, if we will hear the Opinion of the *Dutch* themſelves, who, in this Inſtance, may be counted the beſt and moſt impartial Judges, it is manifeſt, that this Encounter of fifty Frigats againſt all the Force they could make, gave then a greater Apprehenſion and Dread of his Majeſty's Power at Sea, than all the Victories which had been gain'd on them. So that, though the Confidence of the common People was to be kept up with Bubble and Brandy, yet their Governors diſcern'd their own Danger and Inability; and that his Majeſty's Fleet, under an high and great Conduct, had a Force and Courage more than human. Which made the late Heer *de Wit* (accounted the wiſeſt Man in the Nation, and who then govern'd their Affairs, and who was never guilty of much Reſpect to his Majeſty, and the *Engliſh* Nation) acknowledge to Sir *William Temple*, his Majeſty's Ambaſſador then to the States of *Holland*, "That, by this Engagement of the "Duke of *Albemarle*, we had gain'd more "Honour to our Nation, and to the invin-"cible Courage of the Seamen, than by the "other two Victories. That he was ſure the "*Dutch* could never have been brought on "the other two Days, after the Diſadvantage "of the firſt; and he believ'd no other Na-"tion was capable of it except the *Engliſh*."

But if his Grace was too daring in this Encounter, yet the *Dutch* were certainly much more too cowardly, in neglecting the Advantage of it. Had the Duke been poſſeſs'd of half thoſe Advantages upon the Enemy, he would have given Security, at the Price of his own Head, to have deſtroy'd or taken their whole Fleet. But the *Dutch* had got off ſo much better than they hoped for, from this Encounter, that they were willing to fanſy it for a Victory. So that it was not only owned as ſuch by their own People, with whom ſuch Contrivances are politickly neceſſary; but was pupliſh'd alſo in the Courts of foreign Princes, who, being better inform'd in the Circumſtances of the Action, greatly ſmiled at the *Dutch* Vanity.

XXV. The States in the Interim had repair'd their Fleet with ſuch extraordinary Diligence and Diſpatch, (in which Inſtance only they may be thought to exceed their Neighbours) as they were again got out to Sea with about an hundred Sail; and, that they might appear to have been victorious in the late Engagement, came and lay upon the *Engliſh* Coaſts: With which, not only their own People, but the Seditious and Diſcontented in *England*, were well ſatisfy'd. Yet all this was but Pretence, and a Copy of their Countenance. For the *Dutch* very well knew,

knew, that his Majesty's Fleet would not yet be ready; and so soon as it was, they presently drew off, not for Sea Room, as the *English* used to do from the Coasts of *Holland*, but, in case they were forc'd to an Engagement, to lye near the Retirements of their own Shores.

XXVI. By this Time the Prince and Duke of *Albemarle* had used such Industry, that his Majesty's Fleet was in Readiness to come to a Rendez-vous at the *Buoy* of the *Nore*, *July* the 17th, and from thence, *July* 22. sail'd to the *Gun-fleet*. The next Day they stood to Sea after the Enemy's Fleet, who kept under Sail before them towards their own Coasts. And on *July* 25. by six in the Morning, got within two Leagues of the *Dutch* Fleet, who thereupon sailing in very good Order, brought themselves into a Crescent; and the *English*, as they came up, fell into a Line; both Sides having divided themselves into three Squadrons. *July* 23. *July* 25.

XXVII. BETWEEN nine and ten in the Morning the Fight begun. The *White* Squadron, led by Sir *Thomas Allen*, rode in the Head of the Fleet; and, coming close up to the Enemy, the *Anne* began to fire, and presently the *White* Squadron was wholly engag'd with the Enemy's Van. And the *Red*

Squadron next advancing upon the Body of the *Dutch* Fleet led by *de Ruyter*, and then the *Blue* Squadron undertook the *Zealand* Diviſion; ſo that by Noon all our Fleet was in with them. This Encounter, though it laſted not long, yet, for the Time of its continuance, was ſharp enough: In which the *Dutch* had ſeveral Ships ſunk and fir'd; and ſome of our own, as the *Royal Catherine*, the St. *George*, the *Rupert*, and another Ship of the *White* Squadron, were ſo diſabled as they came out of the Line, and lay by to mend. His Highneſs and the Duke being both in the *Royal Charles*, bore up to Admiral *de Ruyter* within Muſket Shot, and fought him hand to hand for ſome time, till they came out of their Line to refit their Tackling, leaving the Place to Sir *Joſeph Jordan* in the *Royal Sovereign*, who ply'd him ſo warmly, that he ſhot down his Top-maſt, and ſunk his Fire-ſhip by his Side. In half an Hour's Time the Prince and Duke ſtood in again, engaging the ſecond Time ſo cloſely with *de Ruyter*, as, having receiv'd ſeventeen Shot in his Ship under the Water, and double the Number in his Hull above, he was glad to give Way, and retire. All the Damage to the *Royal Charles* was only in her Tackling; where they had no Ropes nor Steerage left, but ſhe was towed out of the Line by Boats, his Highneſs and his Grace removing into the

Royal

Royal James. About this Time Sir *Robert Holmes*, having loſt both his Top-maſts, lay by a while to repair. And now the *Reſolution*, being firſt diſabled, was burnt by a Fire-ſhip ſent upon her by *Van Trump*. Captain *Hannam*, who commanded in her, bravely clear'd himſelf of the Fire-Ship; but the Flame was advanced ſo far, as he could not poſſibly preſerve his Ship; yet himſelf and Ship's Company ſaved themſelves by Boats which were ſent off to them from ſuch Ships as lay neareſt. For ſome Time before, the Enemy was obſerv'd to give Ground; between one and two of the Clock the Van was already got off with all the Wind they could make; and now, about four in the Afternoon, *de Ruyter* with the Body of their Fleet began to run; but made frequent Tacks to fetch off his ſhattered and maimed Ships. In one whereof he hazarded his own Safety to reſcue his ſecond; which was ſo diſabled, as it was not poſſible for him to retrieve her. And now, beſides what the *Dutch* had loſt in the Fight, ſeveral other Ships were loſt as they fled away. About ſeven at Night the *Royal James* took Vice-Admiral *Banchart*'s Ship of ſixty Guns, himſelf eſcaping a-board Captain *de Haes*. And the *Snake* of *Harlem*, a ſtout new Ship of ſixty ſix Guns, was alſo taken, and both of them fir'd by the *Engliſh*, being earneſt in the Purſuit. All this while Sir *Je-*

remy Smith with the *Blue* Squadron ſtood engaged with *Van Trump* and the *Zealand* Diviſion, till, toward Night, they alſo made all the Sail they could to the Northward, and the *Blue* Squadron in the Purſuit till Night parted them.

CHAP. XXX.

I, II. *The* Dutch *are beaten into their own Harbour.* III, IV. *The Loſs on each Side.* V. *The Prince and Duke reſolve to anchor upon the* Dutch *Coaſts.* VI, VII. *Sir* Robert Holmes *makes a Deſcent upon the Iſland of* Schelling, *plunders and burns the Town of* Brandaris, *with an hundred and fifty Ships in the Harbour.* VIII. *The* Dutch *put to Sea again, and ſail towards the* French *Coaſts, in hopes of joining them. The* Engliſh *Fleet goes in Purſuit of them.*

I. THE *Dutch* Fleet being gone off, his Highneſs and the Duke this Night gave Order to Sir *Thomas Allen* in the *Royal Oak*, with two other Frigats, to keep near them,

them, and to put up Lights that might give Notice, in caſe the Enemy ſhould alter his Courſe; which was ſo effectually perform'd, that, by the firſt Light of the Morning, Sir *Thomas Allen* found himſelf not much above Musket ſhot from *de Ruyter*'s Lee, and then tacked towards our own Fleet. This Morning early the Prince and Duke drew the Fleet into a Line, and made all the Sail they could, to get up with the *Dutch*; but there was ſo little Wind, that they could not poſſibly reach them. But while the Ships, for want of Wind, could not make ſail, the *Fan-Fan*, a little Pleaſure-boat built at *Harwich* for the Service of Prince *Rupert*, by the Help of her Oars, where the Frigats, for want of Wind, could not come, made up to *de Ruyter*; and bringing her two little Guns to bear on one Side, ply'd the Admiral's Ship Broad-ſide to Broad-ſide for almoſt an Hour: The Admiral having ſpent ſeveral Guns to no purpoſe upon her, till at laſt he gave her two or three Shot between Wind and Water, with which ſhe retired; having thereby let the Enemy ſee, at how low a Rate they valued the *Belgick Lion*, whom they had ſo often worried. Afterwards, the Wind a little increaſing, the Prince and Duke made their Way towards *de Ruyter*, who found himſelf ſo diſabled by Yeſterday's Engagement, that both his Men and Ships were out of

Courage to ſtand another Encounter, but bore away before them. The *Engliſh* Fleet chaſing them over ſeveral Banks and Flats, till the great Ships came to ſix Fathoms Water, and the leſs continu'd in Purſuit within two Miles of their own Shores. And, had there been Wind enough in this Retreat, both *de Ruyter*, and ſeveral of his Ships, had certainly been taken or deſtroy'd. But there being ſo great a Calm, the *Dutch* Ships, drawing leſs Water, made their Way faſter than the *Engliſh* could purſue them, and ſo eſcaped into the *Harlow* Channel of *Zealand*.

II. The ſame Day Sir *Jeremiah Smith*, with the Blue Squadron, preſſed ſo hard upon *Van Trump* and his Diviſion, that he beat them all into their own Port of the *Weelings*.

III. In this Engagement the *Freezland* and *Zealand* Squadrons were thought to have loſt the better half of their Men: In their whole Fleet were eſtimated about four thouſand Men killed, two thouſand wounded. The Commanders of Note that fell in this Fight were, *Evertſon* of *Zealand*, *Termick Hides* Admiral of *Freezland*, and *Conders* his Vice-Admiral, with about twelve of their principal Captains.

IV. The

IV. THE Loſs on the *Engliſh* Side was greatly diſproportionable, having loſt but few in the Fight, and not above three hundred wounded, upon a ſtrict Computation. And, among the Officers, were kill'd only Captain *Seymour* in the *Foreſight*, Captain *Martin* in the *Eaſt-India*, *London*, and Captain *Parker* in the *Tarmouth*; Captain *Saunders* only in the *Breda* dangerouſly wounded. And but one Ship wanting, namely the *Reſolution*, of which we have given Account before.

V. THE Day after the Fight the Prince and Duke, at a Council of War, reſolv'd to ſend home thoſe few Ships that were diſabled, and to ply upon the *Dutch* Coaſts, in Expectation of ſome further Advantage upon the Enemy, who could not make this Engagement Paſs among the People for a Victory, when they ſaw every Day the *Engliſh* Fleet at Anchor in View of their Shores. *July* 27.

VI. NEITHER would the Courage and Reſolution of his Majeſty's Fleet content it ſelf to lye idly upon the Enemy's Coaſts; but the Prince and Duke having receiv'd Information from a diſcontented *Dutch* Captain, how eaſy it was to make an Attempt upon the Iſland of *Schelling*, and Town of *Brandaris*, commanded Sir *Robert Holmes*

to go upon that Expedition; who accordingly, taking with him eleven Foot Companies, and eight ſmall Frigats, with five Fire-ſhips, beſides ſeveral Ketches and Boats, in the Morning early enter'd the Channel; and, being come into *Schelling* Road, Sir *Robert* and the Captains with him, obſerving a conſiderable Fleet of about an hundred and twenty Sail, riding thick and cloſe together at Anchor in the *Uly*, with few Men of War among them for their Aſſiſtance, reſolv'd to attempt the firing of them. Whereupon Sir *Robert Holmes* left the *Advice* and *Hampſhire* Frigats without, to ſecure the Buoys, leſt the Enemy ſhould ſend ſome Veſſels to take them away, and ſo hazard their Retreat in an unknown Channel. The *Pembroke* and three Ketches and Boats, with one Foot Company, and Sir *Robert Holmes* himſelf in the little *Fan-Fan* that had lately braved *de Ruyter*, with the five Fire-ſhips a-head, went in upon the *Dutch* Fleet, and preſently fir'd two *Dutch* Men of War, and ſome other Ships, that, upon the Alarm, ſtood to defend the Fleet. The Boats then were ſent to burn the reſt of the Ships; which was diſpatch'd with ſuch Succeſs, that preſently all their Ships were on fire, except a *Guineaman* of twenty four Guns, and three ſmall Privateers, that, halling together in the narrow of the Channel, preſerv'd themſelves,

and

and five Sail more that were behind them, ſo as the Boat could not poſſibly get up to them.

VII. THE *Tyger*, *Aſſurance*, *Dragon*, *Garland*, and *Sweepſtakes*, ſtood in *Schelling* Road with five Foot Companies, to prevent any Surprizal from the Enemy, whilſt the other five Companies went on Shore upon the Iſland of *Schelling* for the Town of *Brandaris*; which, in half an Hour's Time, was all on a Flame, and above a thouſand Houſes were conſumed. The Spoil and Plunder, both in the Ships and Houſes, were wholly abandoned to the Seamen and Soldiers, where ſome of them found great Booties. And, having deſtroy'd more than an hundred and fifty Sail of the Enemy's Ships, Sir *Robert Holmes* returned ſafely, having not above twelve Men kill'd or wounded in the Action. And, being come back to the Fleet, the Prince and Duke ſent Sir *Philip Howard*, who was one of thoſe eleven Captains that went on this Expedition, to give his Majeſty an Account thereof.

VIII. THE Prince and Duke continued ſtill upon the *Dutch* Coaſts, intercepting their Trade and Ships; and, about the middle of *Auguſt*, returned with their Fleet to their own Shores, having ſpent all their Proviſion,

and

and much of their Ammunition; both which were to be ſupply'd again at home. But ſome Veſſels for Intelligence were ſtill continu'd on the *Dutch* Coaſts; and, toward the End of this Month, brought Account, that the Enemy was coming out with a Fleet of eighty Sail; who took this Advantage of the *Engliſh* Fleet's Retreat, to get out with all the Haſte they could make, and ſailed towards the *French* Harbours, hoping to join with their new Ally, who hitherto had given them no Aſſiſtance.

IX. THE News of the Enemy's Fleet coming forth, was quickly brought to the Prince and Duke of *Albemarle*, who made all the Haſte poſſible to get the Fleet in Rea-
Sept. 1. dineſs to fall on them. And, about the firſt of *September*, came up to them, having gotten *French* Harbour in the Bay of *Staples*, where the *Engliſh* Fleet ſtood ready to engage them; but the Enemy kept themſelves cloſe in the Harbour. The Weather was now very tempeſtuous by a ſtrong Eaſterly Wind, and the *Engliſh* could not conveniently weather it; and, perceiving the Enemy not willing to fight, the Prince and Duke retir'd to St. *Hellen*'s Bay, that being a ſafe and commodious Station, where they might intercept the joining of the *Dutch* and *French* Fleet, then lying about *Rochel*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

I. *The Fire of* London. II. *The Duke commanded home for his Aſſiſtance upon that Occaſion.* III. *No farther Action at Sea this Year.* IV. *The Methods taken next Year to bring the* Dutch *to ſome Action, or to Peace.* V. *The Diſtribution of the* Engliſh *Fleet.* VI. *The* Dutch *make an Attempt upon* Chatham, *but afterwards ſubmit to a Peace.* VII, VIII, IX. *The Duke taken ill, his Diſtemper, the Courſe of it.* X. *He returns to* London, *grows worſe.* XI. *His Advice to the Members of Parliament, and Miniſters of State, who come to ſee him.* XII, XIII. *Marries his Son to a Daughter of the Duke of* Newcaſtle. XIV. *Sequeſters himſelf from all publick Affairs.* XV. *His Death.* XVI. *Some of his moſt important Actions enumerated.* XVII. *His Death univerſally lamented.* XVIII. *His Funeral celebrated at the King's Charge.* XIX. *A phyſical Account of the Author's concerning the Cauſe of his Death.* XX. *His Body lies in State at* Somerſet *Houſe.*

I. WHILST the Fortune of *England*, by ſo many Naval Succeſſes abroad, run thus high upon the Water, it was ſuddenly

ſuddenly arreſted by a fatal Fire at home;
Sept. 2. which about this Time (*September* 2.) began, and, in three Days Time, burnt down the greateſt Part of the City; which the Citizens computed at above one thouſand three hundred Houſes, beſides ſo great a Loſs of Goods and Wares, as can never be duly eſtimated. And, after the Aſtoniſhment of this Conflagration it ſelf, the next Wonder is, that the Minds of Men have been no ways clearly ſatisfied about the Beginning or Continuance of it.

II. After ſo great a Blow upon the Metropolis of the Nation, it pleaſed his Majeſty to command the Duke of *Albemarle* from Sea, to be near his Perſon and Counſels in ſo diſtracted a Time; who accordingly came back to *London* about two Days after the Fire was quenched.

III. It might have been here expected, that the *Dutch* Fleet, now in Conjunction with *France*, would have taken this Opportunity of fighting his Majeſty's Navy, which all this while ſtood ready for them. But the late Engagement, upon dividing the Fleet, had coſt them ſo dear, they were not willing to try a ſecond Experiment; and were ſo far from coming to a Fight after the Union with the *French* Ships, that, though his Majeſty kept

kept out his Fleet till the Season was over, yet the Enemy trifled away the Time without coming to Action. So that his Grace went no more this Year to the Fleet, but continued at home, assisting with the Privy-Council for rebuilding the City.

IV. AND for the next Year his Majesty, having taken other Methods, was pleas'd to excuse him from any further Service at Sea. For the *Dutch* were contriving as dilatory a War with his Majesty of *Great Britain*, as they had formerly manag'd with their natural Prince *Philip* II. to weary him with Delays. So that in *England* there was more Fear about the Continuance and Charge of the War, (especially after the burning of the City) than for the Event of it. This Year 1667. therefore it was resolv'd, instead of dancing Attendance after their fighting Fleet, to turn the War upon their Trade, and intercept their Commerce; whereby the *Dutch* Fleet would be enforc'd, either to follow their Blows more roundly, or submit to a Peace.

V. IN order to this Resolution, his Majesty had taken Care to secure the *British* Seas, by appointing a convenient Number of Ships to lye upon the Coasts about *Scotland*, and another Squadron to ply about *Portsmouth*; so that neither Way the Merchant-Ships

Ships ſhould be able to paſs without Hazard. The reſt of his Majeſty's Fleet was put into the Harbour at *Chatham*; and, for their Security and Defence, Order was given for the better fortifying *Sheerneſs*, at the Mouth of the River, for the planting of Guns at *Upnor* Caſtle, which commanded the Stream; and to ſecure the River *Medway* with a large and ſtrong Chain.

VI. Of this limber and ductile Contrivance the Duke of *Albemarle* was neither the Author nor Promoter; which yet might have ſucceeded much better, if any Part of the Inſtructions had been duly proſecuted. But the *Dutch*, finding *Chatham*, and the Parts about it, unable to make a Defence, took thoſe Advantages upon the Water, which it was impoſſible for the Duke of *Albemarle*, and thoſe Land Forces, which, to the Number of one thouſand five hundred Foot, and five or ſix hundred Horſe, were ſent from *London* thither under his Conduct to deprive them of. Wherefore doing as much as could be effected by Land againſt an Enemy at Sea, the Duke ſecured the Coaſt and the Country; and letting them know that *Albemarle* was
June. ſtill alive, diſpoſed the *Dutch* to a Peace; which was concluded between his Majeſty and the States not long after in the ſame Summer. After which, having no further Occaſion

ſion to uſe his Sword, he return'd to enjoy the Benefit of that Peace, which his Courage and Conduct had helped to procure.

VII. FROM which Time he divided himſelf between his Majeſty's Service (which in any the leaſt Inſtance he would never neglect) and his own private Affairs; till he arrived to the ſixtieth Year of his Age.

VIII. AND now that firm and good Con- 1668.
ſtitution of Body, that great and conſtant Health, which he had ſo long enjoyed, began to impair in him; which Decays were more haſtily promoted, by the Hardſhips of a Soldier's Life in his younger Days; and were further advanced, by the continual Weight of publick Cares in his declining Age. His general Indiſpoſition of Body diſcover'd it ſelf in the Beginnings of a Dropſy, againſt which no timely Care was employ'd. For, though his Grace was very well pleas'd with the Reaſons and Diſcourſe of Phyſicians, yet, through an uninterrupted Health, he had a kind of Averſeneſs to Medicines, or Methods of Phyſick. In this Condition he retired himſelf to his Seat at *New-Hall* in *Eſſex*, in Hopes that the freſh Air might have ſome good Effect upon his Body; and, by this Retreat and Receſs from publick Buſineſs, he might recover his Health.

IX. WHICH, proving otherwiſe, and his Dropſy and Shortneſs of Breath ſtill increaſing, he was perſuaded, by the Importunity of his Friends, and particularly by one who had been an Officer in his Army, to uſe a Pill, which, at that Time, had ſome Reputation for curing the Dropſy, and was then in the Hands of a Perſon that had formerly been a Soldier under him in *Scotland*; and being informed, that the Remedy might be try'd without any ſtrict Method or Confinement, he was the more inclinable to make ſome Experiment of it. Which, though it never effected any thing worthy the Name of a Cure, yet, upon the frequent Uſe thereof, it ſo diſcharg'd the Deluge of wateriſh Humour, as the active Parts of his Blood began again to recover; ſo that the Difficulty of his breathing, and the ſwelling in his Body and Legs, were very much relieved. And all Men, being ſo greatly deſirous of his Life and Health, they were ready to perſuade him into the Confidence of a greater Amendment than there really was.

Dr. *Sermon.*

1669. X. WITH this Opinion, at the End of the Summer, he returned back to *London*: But, upon the Approach of the Winter, his Blood declining again with the Year, his Dropſy encreaſed upon him, with the ſame Accidents

as before. Nor could his former Remedy, which, by the Opinion of curing him before, was grown to a great Reputation, avail any thing to preſerve his Grace, and its own Credit, by a ſecond Recovery.

XI. THE Noiſe of his Relapſe, and the imminent Danger of it, being quickly ſpread about the Town, all his Friends and Retainers came to make their Viſits to him. Several alſo of the Houſe of Lords, and of the Commons, then ſitting, did frequently attend him; and, having accuſtomed himſelf to publick Cares, he could not part with them in the midſt of his own Difficulties; but, with that little Breath he had left to ſupport himſelf, diſcourſed always very earneſtly with them about his Majeſty's Service, and the Good and Settlement of the Commonwealth; conjuring them, *to preſerve always a good Underſtanding between the two Houſes; and that his Majeſty's Crown and Government ought never to ſuffer any Inconvenience by the Paſſions or Prejudice of thoſe, who were ſo nearly obliged to take Care of it.*

XII. IN this his Sickneſs (when the King ſent continually, as well as the Duke of *York*, to know his State) he was frequently viſited by his moſt intimate and principal Friend the

Earl of *Bath*, and alſo by the Lord *Arlington*; to both whom he recommended the Care of his Servants. For, as to his own Concernments, he had brought them into a narrow Room; having nowbut one mortal Care upon him, which was the Marriage of his only Son, whom he was likely to leave young, being then about ſixteen or ſeventeen Years of Age. So that his Grace was very deſirous of living ſo long as to provide a Match for him in ſome ancient and loyal Family, which were the principal Qualifications he aimed at. To that End, ſome Weeks before his Death he entered into a Treaty with the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, with whom he contracted a Match for his Son with the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Daughter of the ſaid Duke, a fair and virtuous Lady. By which Alliance he united the Glories of the ancient Houſes of *Newcaſtle* and *Dorcheſter*, *Cavendiſh* and *Pierpoint*, with his own Ducal Coronet.

XIII. And finding, by his daily and encreaſing Weakneſs, the Approach of his Death, he made the more Haſte to conſummate the Marriage. To that End, *December* 27. his Grace employed the moſt Part of the Day in giving Inſtructions to his Council at Law, for the better ſettling his Eſtate upon his Son, and the aſſigning a Jointure upon

the young Lady. And three Days after, being *December* 30. the Marriage was solemniz'd in the Duke's Chamber; where, with that little Strength he had, he delivered the Bride from his own Hand into the Arms of his Son. *Dec.* 30.

XIV. WHEN the Ceremony was ended, he seem'd very much pleas'd that he had lived to see the Accomplishment of it, being the last of his human Cares. After which he sequestred himself from all mortal Affairs never to be resumed more.

XV. AND now the extreme Difficulty of breathing, which had all along been the most uneasy Part of his Sickness, increased so violently upon him, that he could not lye down in his Bed, but entertained himself only with some short Sleeps in his Chair; in which Posture he dy'd four Days after the Marriage of his Son, *January* 3. about nine in the Morning. And as he liv'd in Silence, so he dy'd without Noise; one easy and single Groan did the Work of Death upon the stoutest and most valiant Hero of the Age he lived in. In his Sickness he had been often visited and comforted by his Grace the then Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and, in those his last Minutes, he was assisted by the Prayers of the Bishop *Jan.* 3. $16\frac{6}{7}\frac{9}{0}$.

of *Salisbury*, who attended him to his laſt Breath, and cloſed his Eyes.

XVI. Such was the *Exit* of this high and illuſtrious Perſon. After he had ſurvived ten thouſand Hazards of War and Battels, and ſurmounted as many Difficulties to redeem his Country; and in his immortal March from *Dalkeith* to *London*, had led two Kingdoms in his own Triumph; after he had reſtored his Majeſty to his Crown, and had erected the Trophies of his Courage and Prudence in his Dominion at Land, and had humbled the Pride of the ſtubborn Enemy, the *Dutch*, in two memorable Battels at Sea; after he had ſeen the Enemies of this Crown under his Majeſty's Feet, and, for ten Years, faithfully aſſiſted in the Settlement of the State; he exchanged this mortal Life for an happy Immortality, having lived ſixty one Years and twenty nine Days.

XVII. The Report of his Death was quickly convey'd from his own Family to the Court adjoining, where it affected his Majeſty and all Perſons with a very particular Sorrow; and the News thereof was entertain'd in the City, and throughout the Kingdom, as a publick Loſs and general Calamity, all Men commenting on the Fall of this their great Reſtorer with an univerſal Sorrow.

XVIII.

XVIII. AND as his Majeſty had always treated him with a very ſingular Eſteem all his Life-time, ſo he was pleas'd to follow him with the Marks of his Royal Favour to the Grave, reſolving to celebrate the Duke's Funeral at his own Charge; and he aſſign'd him alſo a Tomb in *Henry* the VIIth's Chapel, that the great Inſtaurator, and Guardian of Monarchy, might reſt himſelf near the crown'd Heads, and mix his loyal Duſt with the Aſhes of former Kings.

XIX. JANUARY 4. his Body was opened and embalmed, in order to the Solemnity of his Funeral. But, upon the Search, there was found only a large Quantity of diſcoloured Matter in the Cavity of the Belly, and no conſiderable Alteration or Injury upon the Parts within; ſave only in the Heart it ſelf, both the Ventricles whereof were fill'd with a bloody Subſtance, which had alſo inſinuated it ſelf into the Mouths of the adjoining Veſſels, which had ſo far precluded the even Motion and Circle of Blood through his Lungs, as gave him a perpetual Difficulty of breathing. His long and habitual Dropſy had alſo ſo far diſabled the Vigour and Motion of his Blood, that it was not able to entertain and aſſimilate the chylous Liquor offered from his Diet; which did firſt

ſtick among the Fibres and Columns in both Ventricles of the Heart; and, by the continued and gradual Succeſſion of the like tenacious Matter, came at laſt to that Bulk as to fill up both the Cavities, and inevitably to ſtrand the further Current of his Blood.

XX. AFTER his Body was embalmed, it was, by his Majeſty's Command, removed to *Somerſet* Houſe, and there placed for many Weeks in Royal State, attended with all the Ceremonies of pompous Mourning.

THE CONCLUSION,

Containing a

CHARACTER OF THE DUKE.

THEY who daily poſſeſs the Benefit of this great Man's Prudence and Loyalty, and never had the Happineſs of ſeeing him, will expect here ſome Character of his Perſon; which was indeed rather comely than elegant.

elegant. His Stature was of the middle Size, but contrived for Strength and Action. In his Countenance there appeared ſomething very great and auguſt, yet without Pride. His Aſpect was ſo truly martial, that they who knew him not, might have taken him for a General, and collected the Ideas of an Hero from the Lines of his Face. His Eye-ſight ſerved him to the laſt upon nearer Objects, though at remoter Diſtances it was ſomewhat defective. Which Imperfection was, in ſome Meaſure, recompenſed to him, with a very extraordinary Quickneſs of hearing; wherein he did ſo very far excel, that it was dangerous to whiſper a Secret in the ſame Room with him.

His Conſtitution alſo was framed to a ſingular Steddineſs of Temperament, which inabled him to live with a very little Sleep, and without any of thoſe Emotions in his Blood, which moſt other Men find from the Want of it. Upon the ſame Account he was capable of enduring long and frequent Faſting, when impoſed upon him, either by Religion, Neceſſity, or Buſineſs, without any obſervable Prejudice to his Health, or any other Inconvenience. In his Palate he was not curious, or at all ſtudious how to gratify it. When he was young, he had the Small-pox; yet entertain'd them, moſt Part of the Time,

Time, on Horſe-back, and marched every Day with his Regiment, without any of thoſe fatal Effects, which naturally follow from the leaſt Impreſſion of the cold Air.

BUT when we come to deſcribe the Virtues and Endowments of his Mind, we enter upon a more copious and extenſive Subject. His Courage and Fortitude were beyond any hyperbolical Strains of his Friends, and were never yet queſtioned by his greateſt Enemies. They were not, like the uncertain and occaſional Impetuoſity of the late Uſurper *Cromwel*, taken up by Fits; but a ſteddy and well-adviſed Greatneſs of Spirit, ſeparate from Raſhneſs, and conducted by an extraordinary Prudence and Foreſight. So that in thoſe many Engagements where he had commanded, he was always attended with a ſmooth, uninterrupted Succeſs, which has rarely been conſtant to old Generals. And, in that ſingle Surprizal upon him by the *Dutch* Fleet, he fought them ſo ſtoutly with a very unequal Force; and afterwards ſecured his Retreat with ſo much Reſolution and Bravery, that his Enemies were obliged to acknowledge, there was ſomething in his Greatneſs of Mind and Conduct that was more than human.

IF we conſider either the Aſcendant of his Courage,

Courage, or Fortune, it will not be eaſy to find a Parallel in his own Age, and as hardly in all Antiquity. He had reſtored his Country with *Camillus*, but the Sequel of his Life was more glorious. He had all the Diſpatch of *Cæſar*, but none of his Ambition; the Popularity of *Pompey*, without any of his Errors, or Misfortunes; the Eſtimation of *Lucullus*, ſeparate from his Luxury; the Induſtry of the brave *Agricola*, but in the Service of a better Maſter. He had equalled *Scipio*, in reducing the greater Enemies of the Common-wealth, and more faithleſs than the *Carthaginians*, but exceeded him in the Love of his Country, and the Glory of his End. His Command, and the Times he lived in, had the neareſt Reſemblance to thoſe of *Sertorius* in *Spain*; nor were there wanting Confederates about him of *Perpenna*'s inſidious Temper; but he look'd ſo narrowly after them, that none of them could find thoſe Advantages againſt him, which were taken againſt that generous *Roman*.

If his Virtues had been only Military, he and his Armour might, in peaceful Times, have ruſted together. But as he had the Sufficiency of a great General in War, ſo he had equal Prudence and Induſtry in Civil Buſineſs. And, when there was no more Occaſion for his Sword, he became a moſt uſeful

ful and neceſſary Miniſter of State; wherein, if ſome few have exceeded him in Diſpatch, yet none in Sureneſs and Fidelity. By his Prudence he baffled all his Enemies, and unravelled all the Labyrinths of their crooked Subtilty. By the ſame Virtue he preſerved to himſelf the continued Affection and Kindneſs of his Majeſty, which ſhined upon him to the Evening of his Life, without the Interruption of the leaſt Cloud. By the like Quality he kept up his Eſtimation with his Equals, and the Miniſters of State, againſt whom he had never given into any intriguing Schemes. And, as a Reward of his Prudence and Integrity, he had thoſe Advantages which have ſeldom been known to center in the ſame Perſon; of being equally the Favourite of the King, the Court, and the People.

NOR was it the leaſt of his Felicities, that he had the Opportunity of obliging a Prince of ſo generous and humane a Diſpoſition, who could never be capable of looking upon the Greatneſs of his Services with Suſpicion, or to eſteem it a Reproach to his own Greatneſs and Glory, to have been reſtored by one of his own Subjects. He had alſo the further good Fortune to perform his Service to the King in the Flower of his Age, and the Fulneſs of his Joys, before the narrow and ſuſpicious

ſuſpicious Temper, which is more incident to an advanced Age, could be ſuppoſed to diſcover its ordinary and too natural Effects.

His Silence and adviſed Taciturnity was Part of his Prudence, which grew in a great Meaſure upon his Nature, and became habitual to him, by a long Converſation among thoſe whom he could neither love, nor thought it reaſonable to truſt. Such was his Caution and Warineſs, that he would commonly contrive to be the laſt Man in the Company to declare his Opinion. He had thoſe Virtues in Perfection, which the Lord *Bacon* requires in a Perſon in a publick Office, *viz.* "Openneſs in Fame and Opinion "of others, Secrecy in an habitual Conceal-"ment of himſelf." Becauſe the Generality of Men are moſt delighted in diſcourſing of thoſe Subjects wherein they excel, or have been eminently ſucceſsful; ſome have contrived to oblige him, by making the Affairs of thoſe Times, and his extraordinary Services in reſtoring the King, the Subject of Converſation in his Company; in all which he would always reply with ſo great Humility, and Appearance of diſclaiming all Merit in himſelf, that there is not a Perſon now living, who can charge him with Vanity or Oſtentation. And, perhaps, there is not an Inſtance

ſtance in Hiſtory of any Man, who ever perform'd ſuch great Services, and diſcovered ſo little Inclination to mention them, or to hear them mentioned by others.

THOUGH his Grace very well knew how to expect thoſe Regards, which were due to his Perſon and Quality, yet ſurely no Man entertained his own Greatneſs with leſs Ceremony, being a profeſſed Enemy to the little pompous Vanities, by which Perſons of the firſt Diſtinction ſo magnificently trifle with one another. And they who could only take the Height of a great Man, by the Length of his Shadow; by Appearances, and the Noiſe about him; by Formalities, and a numerous Croud of Attendants, thought they wanted ſomething of Grandeur in his Character and Behaviour; who had indeed the Spirit of a great Hero, with the Moderation of a Philoſopher; the Plainneſs of a good Man, with the Secrecy of a Confeſſor.

THE Envious whom he out-ſhined, and the Malicious whom he had defeated, have expoſed his regular and decent Frugality to the Diſadvantage of his Generoſity, which, if rightly conſidered, was one of the greateſt Ornaments of his Life; and did not proceed from the Littleneſs of his Mind, but from the Greatneſs of his Wiſdom. For his Grace had taken

taken the true Measures of human Things; and esteemed it as a sure Maxim, that Power and Interest are hardly separable from Wealth. He very well knew how much Princes descend from the Footstool of their Throne, and veil their Sovereignty to their Subjects, by too frequent, and, sometimes, mean Applications to their People in their Wants: How unable the Nobility are to support their own Esteem and Order, or to assist the Crown, whilst they make themselves contemptible and weak, by the Number and Weight of their Debts, and the continual Decay of their Estates. And if the Wealth of the Nation come to centre most among the lower and trading Part of the People, at one Time or other, it will certainly be in their Power, and probably in their Desires, to invade the Government. These, and the like Considerations, had moved the Duke of *Albemarle* to become as great an Example to the Nobility of honourable good Husbandry, as he had been before of Loyalty and Allegiance.

Besides his immortal Fame, he has another Instance of posthumous Felicity, leaving behind him a Son, the present Duke of *Albemarle*, the Inheritor of his Nobility and Glories; and growing daily more to the Resemblance of him, not only in the Lineaments

of

of his Face, but in the Image of his Mind, the Worthineſs of his Nature, and Height of his Courage and Gallantry. Beſides his own great Example, he had given him, in his Life-time, the early Impreſſions of Virtue and Loyalty; and left him, at his Death, great in the Favour of his Prince, great in the Eſteem of the Nobility, great in the univerſal Affection of the People, and great in the Circle of human Fortune.

SUCH were the Felicities of the late Duke of *Albemarle*, as cannot poſſibly happen to any, but to thoſe who are ſingularly ſuſtained by the Divine Favour, and have purſued glorious Ends; which will make Men of rebellious and fanatical Principles afraid how they mix their Reproaches and Curſes among ſo many Bleſſings of God.

THUS have we brought this Great, this Fortunate, this Triumphant Hero to his Grave.

AND now may the Imperial Crown of *England* never want any thing to ſupport it, beſides its own Majeſty and Greatneſs. But if ever it ſhould, may there never be wanting a Duke of *Albemarle*. Amen.

Gen. *MONK's* PEDIGREE.

THE following Account of GENERAL MONK's *Deſcent, was taken out of a Pamphlet (lately communicated to me) printed A. D.* 1659. *And I preſume from the Date of it, the Deſign of publiſhing it at that Time was, to make out a Title to the Crown, which they were ſo importunate with him to accept of. The Pamphlet is entitled,*

The Pedigree and Deſcent of his Excellency Gen. *George Monk:* Setting forth how he is deſcended from K. *Edward* the Third, by a Branch and Slip of the *White Roſe*, the Houſe of *York:* And likewiſe his Extraction from *Richard* King of the *Romans.*

Page 10.

" *Frances*, another Daughter and Coheir " of the ſaid *Arthur Plantagenet*, was marri- " ed firſt to *John Baſſet* in the County of " *Devon*, by whom ſhe had *Arthur Baſſet*, " Knight, *&c.* She after married to Sir *Tho-* " *mas Monk* of *Potheridge* in the aforeſaid " County of *Devon*; which Sir *Thomas* was " the Son of *Anthony*, the Son and Heir of " *Humphrey Monk* of *Potheridge*, and of " his Wife *Mary*, Daughter and Coheir of " *Richard Champernoon* in *Cornwal*, by the " Daughter and Coheir of Sir *John Lumley*, " Knight, and of his Wife the Daughter and " Coheir of Sir *Humphrey Talbot*, Knight; " which *Richard Champernoon* was Son to " *Richard*, Son of *John*, third Son to *Ri-* " *chard*, Son to *Henry*, Son to *Thomas*, Son " of *Richard* and *Joan* his Wife, Daughter " and Heir of *Ralph Vautort*, and of his " Wife *Joan*, Daughter to *Edmund* Earl of " *Cornwal*, Son to *Richard* King of the *Ro-* " *mans:* Sir *Thomas Monk* aforeſaid had Iſ- " ſue, *Anthony Monk*, firſt Son, (and ſeveral " other Children) from whom is deſcended " *George Monk*, Lord of *Potheridge*, and at " this Time the famous and moſt renowned " General.

GEORGIO MONK,

Duci de ALBEMARLE, Comiti de TORRINGTON, Baroni in POTHERIDGE, &c.

Exercituum in ANGLIA, ſub Rege *CAROLO* Secundo, GENERALI, à Conſiliis Secretioribus, & Nobiliſſimi Ordinis Aureæ Periſcelidis Equiti,

EPITAPHIUM.

Luge & Mirare,

Quiſquis ades.

ECCE jacet in Tumulo, qui ſedere noluit in Throno;
Fatis communibus moritur, qui communibus non vixit;

Naturâ

Naturâ magnus, Fortunâ major, ſe ipſo maximus.
Miles audaciâ, Secundus nulli,
Dux prudentiâ,
Subditus fide.
Tyrannum, & Populis & Regibus formidabilem, Solus non timuit, ſed terruit;
Defuncto Tyranno, & Superſtite Tyranniae,
VENIT, VIDIT, VICIT,
Non Armorum ſtrepitu, ſed Conſiliorum alto Silentio:
(Genus vincendi plane novum, quod nec Voce, nec Armis!)
Tria Regna obtinuit, vel uno Die,
Nec prœliatus, nec locutus;
Obtinuit Tria, noluit vel Unum:
Sceptri enim factus Arbiter, maluit reddere quàm habere;

Pluris

Pluris meritò æstimans, restituere Regem, quàm esse.
Restituit quidem, restitutumque observantissimè coluit,
CAROLO, non sibi, Victor;
Et Obedientiâ inclytus, magis quàm Imperio,
Humilitate, quàm Gloriâ;
Modestior Ipse post restitutam Majestatem, quàm post læsam alii.
Felix, qui triplici Regno Regem demeruit, *& hunc Regem,*
CAROLUM Secundum;
Præter injurias oblitum nihil,
Nihil Memorem præter Officia,
Nec triplici Regno, sed omni dignum.
Restituto Rege, simul omnia restauravit,
Pacem, Justitiam, Religionem.

Restauratisque

Reſtauratiſque omnibus, decennium adhuc vixit, conſervaturus quæ reſtauraverat,
Et conſervando, quàm reſtaurando clarior;
Curarum nempe Vitæque prodigus, ut ſemel reſtaurata ſemper conſervaret.
Amicos habuit *BONOS* omnes;
Inimicum neminem, niſi aut Dei, aut Regis, aut Patriæ.
Titulis, Honoribus, Divitiis, crevit ſupra modum, ſed infra meritum;
Fortunis mutatis, nihil mutatus ipſe,
Semper minor ſibi, quò aliis major.
Penè inter nuptias *filii hæredis* obiit, lacrymas funeris temperaturus nuptiarum gaudiis.
Domeſtico tamen ſolatio nihil placantur publici luctus;
Nec aliquod remedium doloris eſt, ubi calamitas dolorem ſuperat,
Ubi amittitur, quod nec reparatur in Hærede digniſſimo;
Virtus enim Succeſſorem non habet, quæ Antecеſſorem non habuit:

HEROES

HEROES toti naſcuntur, & toti pereunt;
Similem non viderat Anglia, nec Orbis videbit.
Sepelitur cum Regibus, qui Rex non fuit, ſed nec voluit eſſe;
Quidni cum Regibus jaceat, per quem ſtant Ipſi Reges,
Tumulumque accipiat, qui Solium reddidit?
Superſtes, etiam poſt hæc Marmora, futurus,
Nobilior & recentior, dum antiquior;
Dignus planè qui celebretur mortuus, cùm recuſaverit vivus;
Imò qui Cœlum mercedem habeat, cui compenſando Terra non ſufficit.

Hunc & Luge & Mirare.

F I N I S.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM